

**FILE DESCRIPTION**

**BUREAU FILE**

**SUBJECT** Weatherman

**FILE NO.** 100-439048

**SECTION NO.** 49

**SERIALS** NR dated 7-9-69

and

2715

Routing Slip  
FD-4 (Rev. 4-20-67)

Date 7-9-69

To:

☒ Director

FILE

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Title

SDS

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RE: New Left Notes

7-8-69

☐ Rotor #:

ACTION DESIRED

- ☐ Acknowledge  
☐ Assign — Reassign —  
☐ Bring file  
☐ Call me  
☐ Correct  
☐ Deadline  
☐ Deadline passed  
☐ Delinquent  
☐ Discontinue  
☐ Expedite  
☐ File  
☐ For information  
☐ Handle  
☐ Initial & return  
☐ Leads need attention  
☐ Return with explanation or notation as to action taken

- ☐ Open Case  
☐ Prepare lead cards  
☐ Prepare tickler  
☐ Return assignment card  
☐ Return file  
☐ Search and return  
☐ See me  
☐ Serial #  
☐ Post ☐ Recharge ☐ Return  
☐ Send to  
☐ Submit new charge out  
☐ Submit report by 15 JUL 14 1969  
☐ Type

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED  
ENCLOSURE

See reverse side

SAC M. V. JOHNSON

Office Chicago

67 JUL 17 1969

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE <b>CHICAGO</b>	OFFICE OF ORIGIN <b>CHICAGO</b>	DATE <b>5/8/69</b>	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD <b>2/6 - 5/7/69</b>
TITLE OF CASE <b>(STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY)</b>		REPORT MADE BY <b>[REDACTED]</b>	<b>SECRET</b>
		CHARACTER OF CASE <b>IS-SDS; SEDITION</b>	
REFERENCE: Report of SA <b>[REDACTED]</b> dated 2/7/69 at Chicago.			

- p\* -

LEADS

Informational copies of this report have been designated for offices having substantial SDS activity of a regional office and/or chapter nature.

Offices covering the general midwest area should remain alert for attempts by individual SDS chapters to make arrangements with universities to hold the SDS national convention. The stipulated date for the NC is 6/9-15/69; as of 5/1/69 a site had not been set.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						ACQUIT-TALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC	AUTO	FUG	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES		PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO
							PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO

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BU 100-439048  
CG 100-40903

15 MAY 12 1969

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Request Recd.	
Date Fwd.	5/14/69
By	66 JUN 1969

Notations

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CG 100-40903

CHICAGO

~~SECRET~~

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will follow and report activities of SDS nationally in 90 days.

ADMINISTRATIVE

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This report is classified confidential because it contains information furnished by [REDACTED]

who are sources of continuing value and the identification of these sources could possibly have an adverse effect on the internal security of the U.S.

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[REDACTED]

The Bureau in Bulet of 9/22/65 instructed that two additional copies of this report be submitted for distribution by the Bureau to the Internal Revenue Service and further instructed in Bureau R/S of 7/18/68 that a total of ten copies of instant report be submitted. In addition, the Bureau in Buairtel of 4/26/66 instructed that one copy of this report be furnished to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Chicago.

Information copies of this report are being furnished to Region I, 113th MIGroup, Evanston, Illinois; and NISO and OSI, Chicago, in view of their interest in SDS.

All individuals mentioned as SDS national officers and staff members are being considered for inclusion on the Security Index or are on the Security Index.

Individuals and organizations mentioned in this report concerning whom subversive characterizations are not included in Section V were checked through the indices of the Chicago Office. This check was negative or insufficient identifying data was available from which a subversive characterization could be constructed.

b1

[REDACTED] (S)  
- B -  
COVER PAGE

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~~SECRET~~

For the information of the Bureau, no information was included in the instant report concerning the National Organizing Committee (NOC) since information available to Chicago informants reflects the NOC is an independent organization and not organizationally affiliated with SDS.

Concerning the magazine "CAW" it is noted that an advertisement for the publication appeared in the 3/13/69 "New Left Notes." The ad requested interviews, thoughts, poems, etc., and indicated that the next issue of "CAW" would be on the revolutionary life style. Chicago has no information that such an issue has appeared nor has it been determined currently that "CAW" which is published in New York City continues to be a national magazine of SDS. When such information is determined, however, it will be so reported if it retains its national character.

FUNDS

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[REDACTED] (S)

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[REDACTED]

MEMBERSHIP

With respect to the national membership of SDS, it is realized that there are no specific figures obtainable and that there are no competent figures maintained by the SDS National Office. As an estimate, however, the distribution of "New Left Notes" of 8,000 copies per issue does reflect the maximum limit of national membership.

- E -  
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Report of:

SA [REDACTED]

Date:

May 8, 1969

b7c

Office:

CHICAGO

Field Office File #: 100-49903

Bureau File #: 100-439048

Title:

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - SDS;  
SEDITION

Synopsis:

b1

[REDACTED]

CLASSIFIED BY 1482 P8072/200  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
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DETAILS: AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The following organizations and publication mentioned in this report have not been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450 and are characterized in the appendix section:

Black Panther Party

"Guardian"

Progressive Labor Party

Revolutionary Union

Southern Student Organizing Committee

Students for a Democratic Society

Young Socialist Alliance

I. ORGANIZATION

A. SDS NATIONAL CONSTITUTION

The SDS National Constitution as adopted in 1967 at its national convention continues to be the official constitution of the SDS.

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[REDACTED]

B. STRUCTURE

1. National Office (NO)

Location

The SDS National Office is located at 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, Room 206.

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[REDACTED]

Officers and Staff

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On [REDACTED] source made available a copy of the SDS National Constitution, as amended at the 1967 SDS National Convention held in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This constitution read in part as follows:

"ARTICLE VIII: NATIONAL OFFICERS AND STAFF

"Section 4. The National Secretary shall have primary responsibility for the functioning of the National Office. The National Secretary shall also have the primary responsibility for the implementation of national programs approved by the Convention or National Council.

"Section 5. The Inter-Organizational Secretary shall have primary responsibility for liaison with other organizations, both national and international, and for informing the membership about these groups. He/she shall not attend congresses, accept money, or establish formal relationships with organizations without the approval of the Convention, National Council, or in emergency, the NIC.

"Section 6. The ~~Education Secretary~~ shall have the primary responsibility for the functioning of the internal education program.

"Section 7. The secretaries shall appoint assistants as necessary, subject to approval of the National Council.

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The three National Secretaries elected at the June, 1968, SDS National Convention continue to serve and are:

MICHAEL KLOSKEY, National Secretary  
BERNARDINE JOHRN, Inter-Organizational Secretary  
FRED GORDON, Internal Education Secretary

The National Office Staff consists of eighteen members which include the three national secretaries. The following are presently employed by the NO:

TIM MC CARTHY  
ELAINE ~~WILSON~~ WULTZ, Office Manager  
DAVID ~~WILSON~~ JONES, Editor, "New Left Notes"  
SUE FA ~~WILSON~~ JONES  
MARY ~~WILSON~~ JONES  
SUE ~~WILSON~~ JONES  
HENRY ~~WILSON~~ JONES  
CONNIE ~~WILSON~~ JONES  
CATHY ~~WILSON~~ JONES  
ARTHUR ~~WILSON~~ JONES  
PAT ~~WILSON~~ JONES  
KIT ~~WILSON~~ JONES

In addition, HOWARD BACHTINGER, who was recently expelled at the University of Chicago, does some work at the National Office, as well as working at the Chicago Region Office.

JOHN ~~WILSON~~ and STEVE ~~WILSON~~ JONES, who had been employed at the National Office, are no longer so employed.



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It was recently learned that four of the National Office staff were going to be replaced and that this would probably include KIT BAKKE and PAT FROST. It was also learned that HENRY ILLIAN, who works on the layouts of the paper is considered to be "a real creep," by the leadership of SDS.

It has been determined that those who are employed on the National Office staff are to be payed \$30 a week for their employment, but that due to insufficient funds, they have only been receiving \$15 a week in the recent past.

MIKE KLONSKY, the National Secretary, is empowered to hire and fire people for the National Office and the people so selected are generally those who have been recommended from various regions throughout the country. A position on the National Office staff with the exception, of course, of the three National Secretaries, is not a political position and these individuals are not then in any policy making positions. Among the persons listed above, however, it is obvious that TIM MC CARTHY has a great deal of influence because he chairs the National Council meetings and in this capacity is able to direct the convention in a manner favorable to the desires of the influential SDS leaders. b1

The "New Left Notes" ("NLN") issue of November 19, 1968, on page three, contained an article captioned, "Notes from the NIC." This article read in part that the NIC approved the following individuals as members of the SDS National Office staff:

STEVE TAPPIS  
CONNIE ULLMAN  
CATHY ARCHIBALD  
JOHN DUNN  
PAT FROST  
DAVID MILLSTONE  
PENNY ROSEBOMT  
HENRY ILLIAN  
TIM MC CARTHY  
SJE FANET  
DAVID JOHNS  
MARY WOZNIAK  
KIT BAKKE

CG 100-40903

DOUG ~~CORLEY~~  
ELAINE LIFSCHUTZ

Funds

"NLN" of February 12, 1969, carried an announcement captioned, "We're Broke Send Money," which reflected:

"The National Office now has around \$600 in the bank. The bills we have to pay total more than \$2000. We're going deeper in debt with each campus revolt - people take buttons, lit, and bulk NLN and don't pay for them. The situation is desperate. Send the NO some money immediately - you're the only people we can count on."

At the National Council (NC) meeting held in Austin, Texas, on March 29-30, 1969, it was learned that approximately \$2500 had been collected in registration fees. In addition TIM MC CARTHY, NO staff, made a plea for Chapter contributions stating that the financial situation of SDS was in bad shape. b1

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

b1

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[REDACTED]

Radical Education Center (REC)

The REC was set up at the SDS National Convention held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the latter part of June, 1967. REC replaces the Radical Education Project which is now a separate organization from the SDS.

b1

[REDACTED]

The "NLN", issue of July 10, 1967, contained an article captioned, "The Next Day-NC-Internal Education." This article read in part as follows the respect to the purpose of REC:

"The Radical Education Center (REC) will be the internal education arm of the SDS. It will exist for the use of chapters and teacher-organizers and will be responsible to their needs."



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The SDS REC coordinates its literature program from the SDS National Office, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, and CONNIE ULLMAN acts in the capacity of SDS Literature Coordinator.

b1

Security

"NLN" of March 20, 1969, under, "I Hear You Knocking But You Can't Come In," reflects:

"If you're coming to Chicago and want to come to the National Office, call us beforehand and let us know that you're coming. (Phone is 312-666-3874)

"Standard security procedures mean that we can't let people into the building unless we expect them.

"People should not simply drop in on the NO, especially at strange hours in the night. This is very important during the next few weeks, when many people will be passing through Chicago to and from the National Council:...

"The NO is trying to be a functioning office, which means that it's a work office, not a rap office. If you want literature, try to order it by phone or through the mail. If you want to help collate the piles of literature we have sitting around, call us in advance."

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2. Regional Offices

Location

"NLN" of April 24, 1969, reflects the following Regional Office locations:

Chicago: 162 North Clinton, Chicago, Illinois 60606  
312-641-0932

Michigan: Post Office Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan  
48107 (201-371-9761)

New England: 125 Green, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139  
617-864-3126

New Jersey: Box 376-C, Newark, New Jersey 07101  
(No telephone)

New York City: 133 Prince, New York, New York 10012  
(212-674-8310)

Niagara: 308 Stewart Avenue, Ithaca, New York 14850  
607-273-0535

Northern Ohio: 1643 Belmar, Cleveland, Ohio 44118  
(No telephone)

Southern Ohio: 1706 1/2 Summit, Columbus, Ohio  
614-794-3975

Southern California: 619 S. Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles,  
California 90072 (213-660-0190)

Texas-Oklahoma: Box 1941, Dallas, Texas 75221  
(No Telephone)

Washington, D.C.: 1829 Corcoran NW, Washington, D.C.  
20009 (202-332-7183)

### Chapters

SDS Chapters in colleges, universities and at large are sanctioned as such by the National Office on the basis of five national members, eg, each has paid his \$5.00 national membership fee. Based on geographical location, a particular chapter will normally function as part of Regional Office covering its locale. Each chapter has, however, an autonomous charter with no mandated responsibility to follow the program of the NO or Regional Office. Because of their autonomous nature several chapters, notably the chapter at the University of California, Berkeley, have ceased formal relations with SDS and now function as totally independent student organizations.

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[REDACTED]

### 3. Membership

The NO recognizes a person as a national SDS member when he has paid his \$5.00 national membership fee. This also entitles the member to a one year subscription to "NLN".

The delegate vote at National Council (NC) meetings is determined by the number of national members belonging to each chapter. That is, a chapter is given one delegate vote for five to twenty five members; two votes for between twenty six and fifty national members, etc. MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary, maintains a record of the national members assigned to each chapter in order to determine delegate strength at NC meetings, but this record is not absolutely accurate inasmuch as it contains individuals thereon from prior years but who have not paid their current year's membership fee. In addition, a student may be considered as a member of a specific chapter without having become a national member but as such, he may not be included by the chapter in determining delegate votes at NC meetings.



MIKE KLONSKY has claimed membership in SDS as 30,000 but this is an inflated figure and not representative of actual SDS national membership although on single issues such as the war in Vietnam, SDS is able to exert strength far beyond its own forces.

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[REDACTED]

The "NLN" Volume 2, number 25, in the issue dated June 26, 1967, contained an article captioned "Membership Report." This article read in part as follows:

"The recorded membership of SDS stands at 6,371. In addition, there are 588 people who subscribe to 'NLN' but are not members. Of the 6,371 members, only 875 have paid dues since 1/1/67. The rest seem to think that the only thing they have to do is pay once and then forget it..."

4. "New Left Notes" ("NLN")

The masthead of "New Left Notes", April 24, 1969, issue reflects:

"New Left Notes is published weekly (except June and July, when publication is bi-weekly) by Students for a Democratic Society, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874). Second-class postage is paid at Chicago. Subscriptions are \$5 included with the SDS membership fee or cost \$10 for non-members. Signed articles are the responsibility of writers; unsigned articles are the responsibility of editor David Millstone.

"National Office: 1608 West Madison, Chicago, Illinois 60612 (312-666-3874)"

"NLN" reports the current line and policy of SDS reflecting therein articles supporting the position of the national leadership and program accepted by the NO. Regional Offices, chapters, and individual SDS members submit articles for inclusion in "NLN" but such are accepted and edited at the NO and are included or rejected by policy set by the NC, NIC, and national secretaries.

b1

[REDACTED]

The distribution of "NLN" during the past four years has varied from a low of 5000 copies per issue to 8500; however, special runs containing reports of national meetings are considerably more. That is, the recent issue of "NLN" reporting the NC meeting at Austin, Texas, was 11,500 copies.

The current average distribution of "NLN" is approximately 8000 copies per issue. b1

[REDACTED]

### C. GOVERNING BODIES

#### 1. National Council (NC)

Source made available a copy of the SDS National Constitution, as amended at the 1967 SDS National Convention held in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This constitution read in part as follows:

#### "ARTICLE VI: NATIONAL COUNCIL

"Section 1. (a) The national council shall be composed of (1) representative from each chapter with from five to twenty-five members, and one additional representative for each additional twenty-five members or fraction thereof in that chapter; (2) the eleven national officers; (3) elected liaison representatives from associated groups (with consultative vote); (4) liaison representatives from fraternal organizations (with fraternal vote); and (5) national staff (without vote). In all cases, NC members and liaison representatives must be members of SDS. No more than three members from one chapter or associated group may serve concurrently as national officers.

"(b) Five or more members residing in an area where there is no organized chapter may meet together to elect a delegate to the national or regional council, provided that (1) a certification of the meeting and election, bearing the signatures of at least 5 members, be sent to the national or regional office prior to the NC or RC meeting, and (2) evidence is offered that all SDS members in the area concerned received prior notice of the meeting and election.



"Section 2. The national council shall be the major policy-making and program body of the organization. It shall determine policy in the form of resolutions on specific views within the broad orientation of the organization; determine the program priorities and action undertaken by the organization consonant with the orientation and mandates set by the Convention; charter chapters, associated groups and internal organizations; and be empowered to suspend chapters, with the right of appeal to the Convention. The NC shall be responsible for the drafting of a budget, administration of the budget, and organization of fund raising; appointment of committee chairmen and representatives to other organizations; overseeing the functioning of the administrative committee; drafting an annual report and making arrangements for the Convention.

"Section 3. The national council shall have the power to appoint standing committees to carry on its work between its meetings.

"Section 4. The national council shall meet at least four times a year. A quorum shall be 40% of the voting members of whose election the national council has been notified. National officers may designate specific alternates. Chapter and liaison representatives may be represented by designated alternates from their groups." b1

[REDACTED]

## 2. National Interim Committee (NIC)

### "ARTICLE VII: NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE

"The Secretaries shall have the power to call a meeting of a National Interim Committee, to be composed of all the national officers, on a regular basis and in emergencies. Decisions of this body shall be subject to national council approval." b1

[REDACTED]



Members

The following persons were elected to NIC membership at the SDS National Convention held during June, 1968:

CHIP MARSHALL	Ithaca, New York
JEFF JONES	New York, New York
MIKE JAMES	Chicago, Illinois
ERIC MANN	Boston, Massachusetts
MIKE SPIEGEL	Washington, D.C.
MORGAN SPECTOR	San Francisco, California
CARL OGLESBY	New York, New York
BARTEE HAILE	Dallas, Texas

b1

[REDACTED]

3. National Administrative Committee (NAC)

The "NLN" issue of January 8, 1969, on page six, contains an article captioned, "NIC Passes on Cuba Week". This article set forth the following information with respect to the present membership of the NAC:

"NAC elections - Three (SDS) chapters in the Chicago area will elect one representative to the NAC, plus Clark Kissinger, Kit Bakke, Elaine Lipschutz and Mary Wozniak were approved by the NIC as NAC members."

## II. ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAM

### A. NIC MEETING, FEBRUARY 8-9, 1969 MADISON, WISCONSIN

It was learned that the NIC planned to hold a meeting at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, during February 8-9, 1969. b1

"NLN" of February 12, 1969, under the caption, "NIC Approves Militarization Program" reported:

"The National Interim Committee, after nine hours of discussion, decided to support a spring program around the militarization of American society. Rather than approving one specific proposal for that program, the NIC mandated several articles for future issues of New Left Notes discussing the program.

"In other actions, the NIC approved plans for sponsoring rallies with the Black Panther Party to commemorate Huey Newton's birthday and support of the black liberation struggle, approved a program to celebrate International Women's Day on March 8, and discussed security and defense specifically with regard to HUAC, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the Chicago Grand Jury's investigation of August's demonstrations around the Democratic National Convention....

#### "Militarization Discussions

"A conference held at Princeton, Feb. 2 and 3 discussed the proposals for spring programs around the military and militarization; the discussion at the NIC mirrored those at the Princeton conference. The direction finally approved grows from a paper printed Jan. 15 in New Left Notes, 'Smash the Military Machine in the Schools.' Many persons felt dissatisfied with the paper, and at Princeton, several revised versions were presented. One moved the discussion from the military in the United States to the militarization of American society, viewing that militarization as the domestic effects of the crisis in U.S. imperialism.



"This revised program included an attack on militarization in the high schools because people were uneasy about the 'big university' orientation of the original paper. In big cities especially, high school kids face incredible class oppression, because of the track system and the racist curriculum. Working-class youth--white, black, and brown--either drop out (and end up in the military) or are given a vocational diploma (which trains them for jobs which don't exist any more, which means they can't find jobs and end up in the military) or are given a general diploma (which is good for nothing besides entrance into the military). Who forces youth into the draft? Guidance counselors, the track system, the different kinds of diploma, the college boards; all these areas could be explained to high school youth as part of a class conscious organizing program. And we can show how these areas affect black and brown youth especially hard.

"SDS would also not focus on a white middle-class constituency in this organizing. This program would involve 'going to the basement' of the high schools and talking to the kids not in college preparatory sections, in line with the direction outlined for SDS in the resolution passed at the December NC, 'Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement,' which called for SDS to broaden its base to working-class youth especially.

"The broader emphasis on militarization of society gives us a handle for doing anti-imperialist organizing. Domestic militarization is the ruling class's answer to the crisis facing imperialism around the world; militarization directly affects people in the United States. Using this approach, we can come on stronger than by simply declaring our solidarity with the NLF. We can show how imperialism oppresses working-class people at home, not simply those abroad. The original proposal for an attack just on the military was labelled as 'student chauvinist.'



"Several persons felt the militarization idea didn't really speak to the question of waging a struggle against racism; it was pointed out that at San Francisco State, for example, this would be a step backward, although the proposal might be useful at San Francisco's white middle-class Lowell High. At State, declared one speaker, the only higher demand could be that the State must provide education for all who want it.

"But others felt this objection was spurious. Racism is key in the militarization of society, they argue. Although it is often difficult to separate a class-conscious anti-racist struggle and a liberal anti-racist struggle, the proposed program would do that, would enable us to link materially the anti-racist and anti-imperialist struggles. And the program should not be viewed as a totality, but rather as one part of our spring activity.

"National Action?

"The NIC split on whether to call for any kind of national action this spring or summer. Some felt it would be an important step for SDS to once again sponsor a national action; others pointed out that such action should only be seen as one small part of ongoing organizing, and that the action per se should not take up much of our energy. Discussion followed the pattern of the past several NCs, where proposals for a national action in Washington (on election day or at the inauguration) were debated and eventually defeated.

"Part of the difficulty in discussing an action was that there was no specific proposal before the group, and people found it difficult to discuss the question in the abstract. Finally, after several hours of discussion which got nowhere, a committee was named to investigate the problem: within two weeks, they will prepare a report outlining a proposed action and site, and the rationale for such an action. The NIC members will then decide what to do. People didn't want to wait until the spring NC before deciding; if a spring action is going to happen, we're going to have to lay the groundwork right away.

"Meanwhile, the NO will prepare literature useful for organizing around those areas outlined by the proposal - ROTC, tacking system in the high schools, etc. - and will collect packets of relevant leaflets."

"NLN" of February, 21, 1969, under the caption "Critique of Princeton" by FRED GORDON, Internal Education Secretary, reflects GORDON's criticism of the militarization program called, "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools", MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary and LES COLEMAN, Chicago Region SDS. The article in part states:

"The nine-hour discussion of the anti-military proposals at the Madison NIC was incredibly vague. The reportage of the NIC discussion in NLN, which I think does not accurately represent the discussion of the NIC, also does little to clarify the politics of any anti-military struggle that SDS might be planning for the spring.

"The Princeton conference discussed two proposals for spring offensives. One was the 'Smash the Military Machine in the Schools', the original draft of which appeared in New Left Notes.. (This proposal went through several drafts at the conference.) The second was a proposal written by Coleman and Klonsky which called for a campaign against 'militarization'. Although the two proposals in certain respects contradicted one another, at Princeton they were simply combined and passed as indicating a 'general direction'. The NIC did little to undo this confusion.

"It was clear, however, that most people at the NIC were opposed to the first proposal. The 'Smash the Military Machine in the Schools' proposal was attacked as being 'student chauvinist' and as expressing 'right wing tendencies'. But that proposal was never brought to the NIC, nor has it been printed in NLN. Surely, before SDS takes on a massive national campaign, the politics of that campaign should be thoroughly discussed.



"One can argue that the obscurity of the Coleman-Klonsky proposal on the issue of racism is no crime. After all, we all need time to experiment and make up our minds. But this confusion on their part is inexcusable at this point for three reasons: 1) it works against, rather than build a clear anti-imperialist politics for, SDS; 2) their confusion about the class nature of racism comes at a time when at SF State racism is being fought in a clear class way, viz. racism is seen by thousands of white students and increasing numbers of workers as being against their class interests, and 3) Coleman-Klonsky and the rest of the NIC have been adamant in their opposition to the SF State Racism Proposal that puts forth a correct analysis of the class basis of racism.

"In that the SF State struggle is the most militant struggle in SDS' history (and the longest student strike ever at an American university), the national leadership is now tailing behind the real leadership of the movement. The only 'leadership' they provide is leadership in attacking genuine anti-imperialist politics. The Madison NIC vetoed my proposal to have the SF State Racism Proposal printed up in pamphlet form. The NIC has the power to overrule an internal education secretary, and the NC has the power to overrule the NIC. Despite the fact that the NC passed the SF State Racism Proposal, the NIC wished to prevent its wide availability for mass work. In view of its own confusion about the nature of racism, perhaps the NIC wishes SDS potential base to wait until it has made up its mind. If the NIC will not let genuine anti-imperialist politics be widely presented, surely the membership will demand it."



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**B. NATIONAL INTERIM COMMITTEE (NIC)  
AND NATIONAL COUNCIL (NC) MEETINGS,  
3/27 - 31/69, AUSTIN, TEXAS**

On March 27, 1969, during the evening, an open meeting of the NIC was held in which approximately 150 persons attended. Among those NIC members observed were:

CHIP MARSHALL  
JEFF JONES  
MIKE SPIEGEL  
BARTEE HAILE  
CARL OGLESBY  
BERNARDINE DOHRN - Inter-Organizational Secretary  
FRED GORDON - Internal Education Secretary  
MIKE KLONSKY - National Secretary

DOHRN chaired the meeting which concerned itself with certain questions relating to the policy regarding the admission of the press to sessions of the forthcoming NC meeting. It was decided that no electronic equipment of whatever type would be allowed into the NC meeting. It was noted here that DOHRN stated that caution should be exercised in connection with the registration lists in order that they be held in confidence.

At this meeting of the NC, a tentative agenda was discussed and it was decided that the initial plenary would begin at 11 AM on March 28, 1969.

On March 28, 1969, a SDS Educational Conference was held in plenary session beginning at 11 AM, the purpose being to discuss the agenda for the forthcoming NC meeting. After much discussion between the leaders of SDS and those representing the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), it was finally decided the agenda would include the following:

1. Racism (five separate proposals were agreed upon for submission for discussion to the NC);
2. The National Office educational packet;
3. The Southern Student Organizing Committee proposal;

4. The schools proposal submitted by LES COLEMAN of the Chicago Region;
5. Labor proposals including one submitted by BILL AYRES and JIM MELLEN;
6. Drugs (this proposal was being introduced by PLP);
7. The China-Soviet Union border dispute proposal (also to be submitted by PLP);
8. Miscellaneous.

At the conclusion of this discussion on the agenda, it was decided that the meeting would be broken up into various workshops, a number of which were set up to discuss COLEMAN's schools proposal, high school organizing and a workshop on militarism.

The NC, SDS meeting, was held on March 29, and 30, 1969, at the Catholic Youth Center in Austin, Texas. It appeared that approximately 800 persons attended the plenary sessions and of this, approximately 200 were delegates. It was observed that at most, only 10 black persons were in attendance at this meeting.

TIM MC CARMY of the National Office staff, chaired all of the sessions on March 29 and 30.

Saturday, March 29, 1969

The first order of business was reports from the three National Secretaries, the first speaker being FRED GORDON, Internal Education Secretary.

GORDON stressed the relationship of the working class and youth and presented the formulation that after students leave the college and university level, they then become a part of the working class (even though they may be in a professional status). GORDON concluded that the youth are oppressed, both because they are a part of and about to be a significant part of the working class.



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BERNARDINE DOHRN, Inter-Organizational Secretary, based her discussion on the Black Panther Party (BPP), stating that the BPP is the vanguard of the national anti-imperialism struggle going on today in this country. She also aligned the struggle of the BPP as analogous to the struggle of the National Liberation Front (NLF) of Vietnam, as both struggles are struggles for self-determination and struggles against imperialism.

These points by DOHRN were stressed over and over again by various speakers at this council meeting.

MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary, stated that DOHRN had given his speech but then elaborated on the fact that the NLF is not selling out the people of Vietnam, and he specifically criticized PLP for not supporting the NLF as they are fighting a people's war. KLONSKY stated that in not supporting the NLF or the BPP, it amounts to a racist policy and counterrevolutionary in nature.

KLONSKY stated that a "Marxist-Leninist movement" must be built. He stressed this point but did not call for a party, but rather used the word movement in expressing this idea.

The main order of business on the first day, were the proposals discussed under "racism". The proposal introduced by ED JENNINGS of the Chicago Region SDS was considered to be the most important because it not only gave full support to the Black Liberation movement and in particular to the BPP but contained within it in the last paragraph a repudiation of the Workers Student Alliance Line of PLP.

This proposal received a great deal of discussion from the floor by PLP advocates and those opposing PLP, and it is noted that both BERNARDINE DOHRN and MIKE KLONSKY spoke in behalf of the proposal and that ~~RICK KNOX~~ KNOX of the New York PLP spoke against the proposal. The proposal was passed by a vote of 95 to 80.

JENNINGS proposal as approved by the NC is as follows:



**"THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY TOWARD THE LIBERATION OF THE COLONY**

7... "(Draft of a resolution to be presented at the March National Council Meeting, by Ed Jennings, Chicago Circle Campus SDS.)

"The sharpest struggles in the world today are those of the oppressed nations against imperialism and for national liberation. Within this country the sharpest struggle is that of the black colony for its liberation; it is a struggle which by its very nature is anti-imperialist and increasingly anti-capitalist. The demand for self-determination for the black colony -- a demand which arises from the most oppressed elements within the black community -- is anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist insofar as it challenges the power of the ruling class. Furthermore the black liberation movement consciously identifies with and expresses solidarity with the liberation struggles of other oppressed peoples.

"Within the black liberation movement the vanguard force is the Black Panther Party. Their development of an essentially correct program for the black community -- as exemplified by the ten points -- and their ability to organize blacks around this program has brought them to this leadership. An especially important part of the Panther program is the Black Peoples' Army -- a military force to be used not only in the defense of the black community but also for its liberation. Given the military occupation of the black community it is especially true that "without a peoples' army the people have nothing." A second important part of their program is their efforts to organize black workers. They are increasingly moving into the factories and shops, i.e., Panther caucuses, Black Labor Federation, etc. It is important for us to understand that the black worker is not only a "subject" in an oppressed colony fighting for its liberation, but that he is also a member of the working class. Thus the black worker as a result of this dual oppression will play the vanguard role not only in the black liberation movement, but also in uniting and leading the whole working class in its fight against

oppression and exploitation.

"The fundamental reason for the success of the Black Panther Party is that it has a correct analysis of American society. They see clearly the colonial status of blacks and the dual oppression from which they suffer: national oppression as a people and class exploitation as a super-exploited part of the working class. The demand for self-determination becomes the most basic demand of the oppressed colony, and nationalism becomes a necessary and effective means for organizing the black community and forging unity against the oppressor.

"We must be very clear about the nature of nationalism. If the principal contradiction in the world today is that of the oppressed nations against imperialism, then support for these revolutionary national movements becomes the most important criterion for dividing revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries (and revisionists). To say that "in the name of nationalism, the bourgeoisie of all nations do their reactionary and dirty work" is to obscure the reality that in the name of national liberation the workers and peasants of all oppressed nations will struggle against and defeat imperialism. To say that "all nationalism is reactionary" is objectively to ally with imperialism in opposition to the struggles of the oppressed nations.

"But nationalism is not always revolutionary. There is a fundamental difference between revolutionary nationalism which is "dependent upon a people's revolution" and reactionary nationalism in which the "end goal is the oppression of the people." What do the Panthers say about the reactionary, cultural or "pork-chop" variety of nationalism:

"We must destroy all cultural nationalism, because it is reactionary and has become a tool of Richard Milhaus Nixon, and all the U.S. power structure which divides the poor and oppressed, and is used by the greasy-slick black bourgeoisie to exploit black people in the ghetto."

George Mason Murray  
Minister of Education

"The Black Panther Party is under no illusion that liberation for the black colony can be achieved while capitalism still exists. Their call for 'liberation in the colony revolution in the mother country' clearly recognizes the dialectical relationship between liberation for the black colony and socialist revolution for the whole society.

"It's impossible for us to have control of the institutions in our community when a capitalistic system exists on the outside of it. Then in fact the capitalistic system was the very system that enslaved us and is responsible for our continued oppression. So if we want to develop a socialist system within the black community we're saying it's also going to have to exist in the white community."

Bobby Seale  
Chairman

"The correct and uncompromising leadership which the Black Panther Party has brought to the black liberation movement has brought down the most vicious repression from the racist pig power structure. When the leading black revolutionary group is continually harassed, its leaders jailed, hounded out of the country and brutally assassinated, when Panther members daily face the provocations of the ruling class and its racist pigs, when their blood has been spilled and their list of revolutionary martyrs -- Huey, Eldridge, Bobby Hutton, Bunchy Carter, John Huggins -- increases daily, then the time has come for SDS to give total and complete support to their defense efforts. To do less would be a mockery of the word "revolutionary". We must continually expose and attack the role of the pigs and the courts in oppressing the black community. We must publicize the inhuman, brutal and unjust nature of "justice" in this society.

"We see clearly the need to join with the Black Panther Party and other revolutionary black groups in the fight against national chauvinism and white supremacy. The development of the Panthers as a disciplined and militant group fighting for black liberation has had a tremendous impact on the white radical movement. No longer



can we refuse to deal with the chauvinism and white supremacy which exists in both the larger society and in our movement. Toleration of any vestige of white supremacy in the schools, shops and communities must be seen as nothing less than "scabbing" on the black liberation movement and on possibilities for unity of the working class.

**"SDS declares**

- " --its support for the Black Panther Party and their essentially correct program for the liberation of the black colony
- " --its commitment to defend the Black Panther Party and the black colony against the vicious attacks of the racist pig power structure
- " --its commitment to join with the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups in the fight against white national chauvinism and white supremacy
- " --its total commitment to the fight for liberation in the colony and revolution in the mother country.

**"IMPLEMENTATION:**

" --Form Newton-Cleaver Defense Committees--The Black Panther Party has requested that SDS join in setting up these committees. Huey P. Newton is "the key political prisoner in this country at the present time." The committees should first raise money for the defense of Newton, Cleaver and all other Panthers facing charges and second, educate the people about the real nature of "justice" in this racist society.

" --The National Office should be mandated to print and distribute information about the history, development and programs of the Black Panther Party and other black revolutionary groups. Information about the repression directed against the black community should be kept up to date and distributed. Literature about the history of the black colony and its 400 years of unending struggle

against oppression should be produced.

"--The NC should be mandated to print and distribute information about the organizing of black workers. This would include Panthe organizing in the factories, DMV, and other relevant for black unions.

"--This resolution should stimulate chapters and regions to develop and/or strengthen informal relationships with the Panthers. We must keep in mind that the Black Panther Party is not fighting black people's struggles only but is in fact the vanguard in our common struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

"--This resolution should be seen as a formal repudiation of the resolution--"Smash Racism: Build a Worker-Student Alliance" which was passed at the December NC. This previous resolution with its refusal to recognize the colonial oppression of blacks in this country, its statement that nationalism is "the main ideological weapon of the ruling class" within the black liberation movement and its inability to distinguish between revolutionary and reactionary is at best non-revolutionary. SDS must not be on record as supporting any resolution which considers revolutionary nationalism--the main factor which ties all oppressed nations together in their fight against imperialism--as a "weapon of the ruling class". Anything less than complete repudiation of this previous resolution is a cop-out on the support and solidarity which we must give to the world-wide movement of oppressed peoples for national liberation."

" Ed Jennings - Chicago Circle  
Campus SDS"



The next order of business was the proposal introduction by JEFF GORDON of the New York PLP on the question of drugs. This proposal as presented to the council meeting in printed form in part is as follows:

**"DRUGS: ENSLAVEMENT NOT LIBERATION"**

"The ruling class has been injecting increasing amounts of drugs into the high schools, colleges, ghetto communities, army and factories. They are doing this to: 1) turn people away from collective struggle against oppressive conditions around them; 2) give the cops a powerful tool to intimidate honest people and make agents of others; 3) make profits (drugs are a big industry). The mafia, police, city hall, high school principals, army officers, factory bosses, college deans, are all in the ruling class alliance to push drugs. Drug traffic increases sharply whenever and wherever anti-imperialist struggle begins. In high schools and the army, among working class youth, are two places where the counter-revolutionary effects of large drug traffic are evident. Drugs are, and have been historically, a drain on the fighting power of the people. Drug pushers, lackies of the ruling class, are leeches on the working class and have to be dealt with as such.

"SDS must have an unequivocal position against drugs. Drugs are enslavers, not liberators. This is not to say that drug users are our enemies--in fact, quite the opposite. They are some of the very people who must be won to fight imperialism fully and to defeat their individualism and serve the people. But they cannot be won UNLESS we have an unequivocal position against drugs.

"All progressive movements around the world have always opposed drugs as a parasite on the back of oppressed classes.

"As for the few, well publicized busts: 1) They keep up a facade that the ruling class is really against drugs, making the taking of drugs seem daring and revolutionary; 2) Those busts that do occur are either against those petty dealers who have not yet made deals with the cops, or against political activists. It is interesting that liberal administrators on campus are sympathetic to drug use and don't crack down on drugs. What they do crack down on is anti-imperialist politics.



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It is easy to see what the ruling class considers a threat to its interests."

In a discussion from the floor, a number of "anarchists", no more than seven or eight of them, attempted to give GORDON a bad time on this proposal, defending the use of drugs.

When the final vote was taken, the proposal lost, principally because it was introduced by PLP. It is believed that the proposal would have passed, had it been introduced by one of the SDS leaders as the general impression that SDS members have of "anarchists", "Yippies" and drug users, is that they are "freaks". It is believed that the proposal was defeated because it indicated a censorship of personal behavior.

This ended the introduction of proposals and subsequent debates thereof on Saturday.

On Sunday, March 30, 1969, the NC was reconvened at 1:30 P.M. The first order of business was the Schools Proposal, which was introduced by LES COLEMAN of the Chicago Region, SDS. The proposal, which was presented to the members, is in part as follows:

#### "THE SCHOOLS MUST SERVE THE PEOPLE

"We live within a monster -- a monster of imperialism and racism that necessitates war, permanent militarization, the subjugation of women, the brutal oppression of the people of color of the world, and the inhuman exploitation of all working people. The cause of this monster is the class and colonial structure of the empire: the majority of people are maintained producing wealth they never share in and the nations of the third world bear the constant oppression and colonization of the white oppressor nation -- U.S. imperialism. Within this country there exist both class and colonial divisions -- class divisions exploit working people of all colors and colonial divisions are at the basis of the special oppression of black and brown sectors of the population. It is this class and colonial basis of the system that we must challenge."

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#### "TEN POINT PROGRAM"

"1. We demand an end to the track system in the schools. The track system, the classification of students into "different levels" of study by racist, anti-working class tests and teachers.

"2. We demand an end to flunkouts and disciplinary expulsions. We want all who have been flunked out or kicked out to be readmitted, because school standards and authorities which are responsible to the power structure in this country have no legitimate human right to judge the people.

"3. We demand the teaching of history and social conditions of the people in this country which exposes the true injustice of this racist capitalist society and the just struggles of colonized and exploited working people against injustice.

"4. We want the schools to directly serve the people where they now function like all corporations in this society to exploit and oppress the people.

"5. Our objective is that all people should be guaranteed an equal and decent education. Admission to higher education institutions now systematically excludes working class youth of all colors and this exclusion must be ended.

"6. We want decent truthful education paid for by the wealth of this country. Three percent of the population controls 90% of the wealth of this country, and yet the labor of the majority of the people is what makes this country run.

"7. We call for an end to military recruitment in the schools, and an end to training and research institutes that serve the American military, including the internal occupational force--the police. We don't want any more police in the schools; we want ROTC and police institutes stopped immediately. Their permanent militarization of this country--having its effects on all aspects of American life--on employment, on women, especially on youth--has been accomplished

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only to protect an empire based on the exploitation and colonization of the laboring people of the world.

"8. We want to end to all forms of male supremacy in the schools.

"9. We want a real understanding of the movement of national liberation and of communist countries which the U.S. Government has committed us to life or death opposition against. We believe that anti-communism has been preached to us in order to maintain our participation and allegiance to an empire which benefits a very few and oppresses the people of the world. We want an end to these lies. We want courses taught accurately on Vietnam, Cuba and China.

"10. We support the ten point program of the BPP for BSA's on the campus.

**"PART TWO: STRATEGIC UNDERSTANDING OF THE 10 POINT PROGRAM**

"The 10 points summarize our central objective in relation to the schools: to make the schools serve the people. They make it clear that the class and colonial domination of the capitalists must be changed before the schools can serve the people. Our objectives are therefore revolutionary objectives because they involve a challenge to the class and colonial basis of the society.

"Finally, we see that as a revolutionary youth movement, we are fulfilling our revolutionary function in the schools through the ten point program. We are raising the class antagonisms in the society. We are trying to articulate the just class and anti-colonial demands of the youth in the schools and of the people that these schools exploit and oppress in the immediate school community and throughout the empire. We are trying to use our strength to advance these demands, these aspects of the class struggle. At the same time, we must prepare the people for the necessity of revolution. We must make it clear at every juncture that the education system cannot be made to serve the people while the capitalist class maintains state power and that it is only a unified working class that can make this country belong to and serve the people."



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Because this proposal had received so much attention, there was a great deal of discussion from the floor with objections mainly centered around the fact that the proposal did not present a clear cut class analysis and that COLEMAN was attempting to copy the BPP style with his ten points innumnerated therein.

(In this connection, COLEMAN was accused of "tackism" which was used to mean that he tacked on a number of points without sufficient analysis or reason for continuing such points in the proposal.)

During this debate, the Schools Proposal was defended by COLEMAN, KLONSKY and DOHRN, with RICK RHOADES of the New York PLP being main opposing speaker. The debate concerning this proposal took most of the afternoon and when finally voted upon, was passed.

On reconvening, the next order of business on the agenda was a discussion on labor and in particular, a resolution was presented by JIM MFLLLEN of the Radical Education Project. This resolution was presented to the attendees at the convention in the following printed form:

"HOT TOWN: SUMMER IN THE CITY

(I ain't Gonna "ork on Maggie's Farm No More)

Bill Ayers - Michigan SDS  
Jim Mellen - REP

"(The following is a revised version of a proposal for a summer program that was passed by the Michigan Regional Conference in Lansing on March 16. People are now working in Detroit to implement this program. This proposal should be seen as a model for political direction in the movement over the next few months.)

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## "I. TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

"Over the past few months, SDS has developed a correct transitional strategy for itself. That strategy is based on an understanding of the class nature of this society; on an understanding that the sharpest struggles against the ruling class are being waged by the oppressed nations against U.S. imperialism, and that all our actions must flow from out identity as part of an international struggle against U.S. imperialism. It is a strategy that understands the need for SDS to tie itself to these struggles, and to make itself something more than it is: to transform itself from a student movement into a working class youth movement.

"It is clear that, although a successful revolution in this country is in no way inevitable, any revolution -- to have even a small chance of success -- would need to be a revolution of the working class. This is not to say that SDS as an organization should move immediately to organizing workers, or that we have, at this point, a precise enough understanding of the various segments and characteristics of the working class. It is only to assert an understanding of the fact that the struggle for freedom that we are involved in can never succeed without the total, fundamental class overthrow and liquidates the ruling class.

"We're faced with two realities: that, in the past SDS has been primarily an elite student group, and that, at this point in history, young people in the schools generally, and in the army, are actively resisting the special oppression they face. Given what SDS is, what is happening in this society, and what the movement must become in order to have even a chance of success, it is clear that SDS must be to consciously transform itself from a student movement into a working class youth movement. That is, SDS must become more than itself, must move, in the only organic way open to it, to become a self-conscious working class movement. And it must do this by emphasizing the commonality of the oppression and struggles of youth, and by making these struggles class conscious."



"This is possible because of the material basis of the oppression of youth. The majority of young people in America today are either in school, in the army, or unemployed. Specifically in the schools and in the army, young people perform tasks that have no relevance to their own needs but are key to the functioning of capitalism: training young people to fit into a more highly skilled work force, forcing them to defend imperialism and the Empire in struggles against national liberation movements. and, in all cases, deferring young people for longer and longer periods of time from the productive work force. Thus, there is significant class content to the oppression of the vast majority of young people. This is not to say that youth is a class--or that young people struggles are always in the interest of the working class as a whole. It is to say that youth is a segment of the working class, and that it is the material basis for their oppression that makes the possibility of developing working class consciousness very real. Our task must be to understand the class content of youth's oppression, to specify it in practice, and to build class consciousness through struggle.

"In order for SDS to succeed at this task it will take tremendous self-consciousness and discipline from the membership. It will involve high school organizers consciously organizing among the lowest-tracked kids. It will involve organizers consciously developing bases in community colleges. And it will involve disciplined CADRE entering the armed forces and work places as organizers.

"There are two important developments that would help this process. These should be seen as urgent tasks. First, is the development of CADRE.

"A second important task is the concretization of our politics through practice.

The following proposal was introduced by JEFF JONES, which concerns a boycott of the Standard Oil Company and which was presented to the attendees in the following printed form:



**"STANDARD OIL BOYCOTT -  
SUPPORT THE OIL WORKERS**

Local I-561, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers, as part of a nation wide walk-out against the national oil industry, has been on strike against the Chevron (a wholly owned subsidiary of Standard Oil) Ortho Chemical plant at Richmond, California, since January 6th. Although most of the other strikes in the industry have been settled, Standard has demanded that I-561 give up its union shop clause (I-561 only has such a clause at the Ortho Plant). As a tactic in their struggle, they have called for a national and international boycott of Standard Oil Products. Many unions and labor organizations have joined in the boycott call, including OCAW International and the Central Labor Councils of Contra Costa, Alameda, and San Francisco countries. Early last week, Standard Oil informed the union members that if they were not back at work by Friday, their jobs would be taken over permanently by the scabs now employed in the plant. The state of the labor movement is such that on Friday, the men and women of I-561 returned to work without a contract. This means that the tactic of the boycott is now their main weapon against Standard Oil.

"SDS should join in supporting the call for the Standard Oil boycott and publicise and act around it on campuses and most especially, in the working communities. Through this support we can concretely support the just struggles of the oil workers, as well as educate our people around the importance of such support.

**SPECIFICALLY, SDS CHAPTERS SHOULD:**

1. Publicise the boycott (leafletting, agit-prop, and educational materials).
2. Circulate petitions supporting the boycott and get people to send their Standard Oil credit cards back to the company with a note demanding that they agree to the union's demands.

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3. The NO is mandated to prepare a pamphlet on the oil strike, the relations that have developed between the students and the workers, and explaining the racist and imperialist nature of Standard Oil.
4. ON CAMPUS AGITATION AGAINST RECRUITERS FROM STANDARD OIL.
5. NLN will keep the membership informed of the status of the boycott and the strike."

Concerning the boycott with Standard Oil, there was very little discussion on it because no one was basically against the proposal. Hence, it was unanimously passed. At this meeting bumper stickers indicating a boycott of Standard Oil were passed out, but it was suggested that they not be placed on the members' cars until they were out of Texas.

The second NIC meeting was held on March 31, 1969, in an outdoor area in Austin, Texas. Approximately 100 attended the meeting and of the NIC members, only CHIP MARSHALL, JEFF JONES and BARTEL HAILE were observed.

The meeting was chaired by BERNARDINE DOHIN and the first order of business was a discussion concerning anti-war demonstrations intended for May, 1969. It was finally decided that there would not be one nationally coordinated effort, but rather that any anti-war demonstration so contemplated would be coordinated on a three regional basis; New York, Chicago and either California or Dallas.

MIKE KLONSKY suggested that SDS should have demonstrations every week in each school, but no final decision was made in this matter.

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With respect to the April 5, 1969, peace march and whether or not SDS should participate, it was decided that even though this march was being led by the "Trotskyites", that individuals could participate but that there would be no mandate by SDS concerning the peace march.

A discussion then concerned LES COLEMAN's Schools Proposal, where it was stated that the question here was how to deal with youth, that is whether as a class or not as a class. In the ensuing discussion, KLONSKY and COLEMAN presented the view that youth are oppressed as a class, hence can be organized around their own oppression.

KLONSKY stated that the National Office is looking for a place to hold the national convention and asked everyone to be on the lookout for possibilities. He stated as it presently stands, they do have a place in Michigan at a camp, which has dining facilities and which has a campground, but no meeting hall. Because of the failure to have a meeting hall, he wanted everyone to look for possibilities for a site for the forthcoming convention meeting.

KLONSKY also noted on the question of leadership, that this will become a pertinent issue in the coming months and the people here who are interested in leadership should give it some thought. He made no recommendations or indicated any preferences whatsoever at this meeting.

Thus ended the NIC meeting of March 31, 1969 b1





C. EDUCATION

At the NIC meeting of March 27, 1969, in Austin, Texas, FRED GORDON, Internal Education Secretary, requested that the NO assign an assistant to him to help in the work of preparing and disseminating educational material to the various regions and chapters. BERNARDINE DOHRN, Inter-Organizational Secretary, objected to this request, stating that GORDON had done nothing in the past in carrying out his duties as educational secretary. Hence, she was against naming any assistant to help him. The request was tabled ostensibly to be taken up during the NC meeting, but it was never so considered during the NC proceedings.

At the subsequent NC meeting on March 29, 30, 1969, one aspect of the struggle between PLP and the SDS leaders developed over the "educational packet" distributed at the NC. This "educational packet" had been prepared at the NO and contained not only a line completely in support of black nationalism and the Black Panther Party (BPP) but was critical of the PLP line on this issue and reflected their lack of full support for the BPP. PLP attempted to use the "educational packet" as a means to censure the NO and introduced a proposal to that effect. Not only was their motion defeated, but a counter proposal praising the NO for the "educational packet" was passed by a large margin.

The internal struggle on educational material apparently precluded a debate at the NC on the militarization program and the document "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools." This program prior to the NC meeting was claimed to be the most important document to be discussed but it was neither printed by the NO nor taken up at the NC.

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D. OTHER STATEMENTS ON PROGRAM

1. Racism

"NLN" of March 20, 1969, page 12, "The White Question" by MIKE KLONSKY, SDS National Secretary:

"The growth of the black liberation struggle on the campus has produced various responses from within the mother country. As the first round of campus confrontations simmer, we must take time and evaluate what has developed so far. For all the campus struggle and rebellion against the racist nature of the schools, there has been little critical analysis done. This is primarily due to the fact that many SDS chapters went into these struggles completely unprepared for them. While the contradictions were sharpening each day for the small percentage of black students on the college campuses, the white students were, as usual, thinking white.

"The reaction to white supremacy on the campus came sharp and quick. San Francisco State, Columbia, Valley State, Duke, Madison Kent State, all blowing up, one after another, left many newly developing chapters in a frenzy. White students had to react. A challenge was placed before them. 'Which side are you on?' Black students led the way, demanding that the schools begin serving their people, demanding black studies departments, black history, open admission to white schools, an end to racist treatment of athletes, etc....

"Incorrect Responses

"Generally speaking, you could say that white students reacted in one of two ways. The first response came as many SDSers and campus radicals called for 'white demands' to go along with black demands, so that whites could fight 'their own struggle' and not 'tail after the blacks.'



"The second response was to support the black demands in a liberal fashion. That is, to deal with racism as a single issue, again seeing the struggle as the 'black people's thing,' only this time supporting it for that reason instead of the usual racist pattern which stemmed from an unwillingness to ever follow black leadership.

"Both of these responses were inadequate and therefore wrong; and, as a result, black students on campuses everywhere have found themselves isolated and left at the mercy of repressive state power.

#### "Fight White Supremacy

"The biggest need on the campuses at this time is a well-defined program, coming from SDS, attacking white supremacy and the class nature of the schools. A program of this sort, which could be learned and understood by the masses of students, with a key point being support for the black liberation struggle and the right of self-determination, would serve as a guide when spontaneous struggles, led by black students, erupt. The lack of any such program on many campuses prior to black-led struggles meant that SDS chapters didn't even grow through the struggle.

"Now, again, this program would not mean that white students opportunistically raised 'white demands' (even under the guise of 'class demands') whenever the black students led a struggle for self-determination. What it does mean is white students having an analysis of white racism ahead of time which provides them with the tools to attack this 'white problem'.

"This would also mean an end of the crying that is becoming more and more common among students at some campuses, 'we can't do anything here because the black students are bourgeois' or 'cultural nationalists.' It is racist to think that white people cannot lead the attack on white supremacy when cultural nationalism exist. Until the white problem in America is struggled against, there cannot possibly be revolutionary class unity."



2. Women

"NLN" of February 12, 1969, page 9, "NIC Approves Militarization Program":

"International Women's Day

"The NIC called for celebration in public meetings of International Women's Day, March 8. The day started in 1908, when women on the Lower East Side went on strike demanding the vote, an end to sweatshop conditions at work, and an end to child labor. Two years later, the Second International declared it a holiday.

"Articles in New Left Notes will describe actions chapters can perform, as well as lay out the history of the women's struggle. Plans call for a special issue of NLN around that date, and new literature."

"NLN" of February 21, 1969, page 6, "International Women's Day," by NOEL IGNATIN:

"In no bourgeois republic (i.e., where there is private ownership of the land, factories, works, shares, etc.), be it even the most democratic republic, nowhere in the world, have women gained a position of complete equality. And this, notwithstanding the fact that more than one and a quarter centuries have elapsed since the Great French Revolution. In words bourgeois equality promises equality and liberty. In fact not a single bourgeois republic, not even the most advanced one, has given the feminine half of the human race either full legal equality with men or freedom from the guardianship and oppression of men.' (Lenin in Pravda, Nov. 8, 1919)

"NIC Resolution

"At its February meeting in Madison, the NIC passed a resolution calling upon all chapters and regions to organize appropriate celebrations of International Women's Day. The implementation of this resolution depends on the consciousness of both male and female members of SDS. Literature and other materials will be forthcoming from the NO in connection with the event. On a local and regional level, SDS should take the initiative to organize public rallies, to focus attention on the need to strive for the emancipation of women, the first subjugated group in human society. Wherever possible, these rallies should involve people from outside as well as

inside SDS. In line with the resolutions on Women's Liberation and one the Revolutionary Youth Movement, both passed at Ann Arbor, special attention should be devoted to the problems of young women of the working class, especially black and brown women, and efforts should be made to bring about the direct participation of young women and men of the working class. Furthermore, every effort should be made to guarantee the participation of men, in both the preparation and speaking. Chapters and regions should regard the rally and the work done in connection with it as a means of hurling people into struggle, as well as a spur to examine SDS internally, in order to correct any tendencies within it to perpetuate the practices of male supremacy of bourgeois society in general."

3. House Committee on Internal  
Security (HCIS), formerly  
House Committee on Unamerican  
Activity (HCUA)

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"NLN" of January 29, 1969, page 1, "SDS  
Takes on HUAC's Liberal Face," by MICHAEL KLONSKY,  
SDS National Secretary:

"In an attempt to shake its circus-clown  
image and gain some type of legitimacy, the House  
Committee on Un-American Activities is preparing to  
investigate SDS with a new, liberal make-up on its  
Edwin Willis-scarred face..."

"In the face of a confrontation with SDS (which  
is not likely to take the 5th) HUAC is attempting to take on  
a new liberal image..."

"Confrontation and education around the HUAC  
investigation of SDS could serve many functions in  
building our movement. First and foremost, the HUAC  
hearings could serve as an opportunity to fight anti-  
communism and its many forms present within the  
movement today."

"People called to testify before the committee (if any) could try and use the national focus on SDS to explain our position on the war, racism, imperialism and capitalism in a way that would make revolutionary politics relevant to the needs of the people of this country. That would be the best attack possible on institutionalized anti-communism. Literature could also be produced for mass distribution explaining the nature of imperialism and its domestic ramifications, such as the growing police state, the militarization of the society, the world economic crisis as felt here in the U.S., growing institutionalized racism and the emergence or surfacing of fascism.

"The HUAC hearings should also give us the impetus to begin mapping out city-wide defense strategies across the country. We must begin to develop a revolutionary theory of defense, defense of the movement as well as defense of the people. The nature of class society will bring the people into perpetual conflict with the police power of the state. It is revolutionary to be able to deal with the problem of people's defense...

"Finally, the investigation of SDS could serve to unify large sectors of the left behind SDS around clear anti-imperialist, anti-racist and anti-capitalist politics. We should use the national focus HUAC gives us to reach out to other organizations and other movement people in an attempt to build the organization, recruit new members, raise money and see possibilities for building alliances and coalitions. This is a task we must take very seriously."

#### 4. Security

"NLN" of February 12, 1969, page 9, "NIC Approves Militarization Program:"

#### "Defense and Security

"A separate article this issue discusses the Chicago Grand Jury; future articles will discuss other aspects of defense and security. The NIC agreed that a security force should be established for the spring NC.



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"Two recent incidents were discussed. At a meeting at Columbia during Cuba Week, a gusano woman was noticed, placed under observation, and then lost again. She re-appeared in the meeting and threw a hand-grenade on stage. The grenade failed to go off, which prevented injury to almost 100 persons.

"While the NIC was meeting, the Radical Education Office in Ann Arbor was broken into, very professionally. (Radicals in Michigan are coming under increasing attack, as actions have grown more militant throughout the state.) A glass-cutter was used to enter the office, and the REP mailing list and contributors' list for the State of Michigan were taken. No money was taken.

"It's important that movement people with offices set up night watches. You don't have to wait until they get your office before you follow minimum security procedures. Keep duplicates of all your lists in a safe place outside the office, so you won't be left stranded if they mysteriously disappear one day.

"The NIC also discussed recording of meetings, and generally agreed that we've been too lenient in the recent past in allowing meetings to be tape-recorded (for example, both the NC and the Princeton conference were taped.) The usual argument, 'Well, the cops will get tapes of what happens anyhow, no matter what we decide,' is not a particularly strong one when we're facing the kind of repression which is starting to come down now."

"NLN" of April 17, 1969, page 3, "Domestic Counter-Insurgency:"

"One of the important jobs we must constantly undertake is discerning and analyzing how the state moves to crush people's movements in this country. Too often we get carried away by our own rhetorical flourishes and do not scientifically study the weapons that are used against us. The first step is getting the information. And one important arena is domestic counter - insurgency research -- one of U.S. imperialism's specialties..."

"The American Council on Education, a big money outfit with a large staff, has an insidious network of connections with the government and various social science research outfits; it is composed of associations of college presidents and high school and elementary school principals...

"Chapters should be alerted for interviewers conducting this American Council on Education 'survey.' They are interviewing 25 or more people on each campus involved, and the list of students to be interviewed is obtained from college administrations.

"There are several important things which chapters should do at once about these and other counter - insurgency projects. First, internal education is the chapter about the nature of counter-insurgency is a requisite. Second, the importance of not talking must be made clear over and over again. Studying the excerpts from the questionnaire here will clearly show how massive dossiers are compiled about people which can be used against them for many years: everything from details about their families, friends, and personal life to possibly incriminating information about their activities. The Man also seeks detailed information about other people. Just as when the FBI comes knocking, we must educate ourselves to understand that there is no friendly, or innocent, or 'objective' discussion with the Man...

"Our goal must be to put an end, once and for all, to these counter-insurgency programs which are used to finger and destroy individuals and whole communities."

#### 5. Support for Black Panther Party (BPP)

"NLN" of February 12, 1969, page 9, "NIC Approves Militarization Program:"

#### "Rallies with Black Panthers

"The NIC affirmed the decision to co-sponsor with the Black Panther Party rallies on Huey Newton's birthday, Feb. 17. (Newton is the Black Panther Minister of Defense, currently in jail.) As outline in last week's



New Left Notes, the rallies would stress the necessity and right of self-defense for the black colony and working class.

"Where there's a local Black Panther organization, SDS chapters should work with them to sponsor the rallies, with joint speakers and films on other actions. On campuses, chapters are encouraged to work with BSU's, or if necessary to sponsor rallies alone. Future issues of NLN will carry information on how to obtain bulk copies of 'The Black Panther', the Panthers' newspaper, as well as Panther literature and posters. The NO will produce a poster and relevant literature which can be used in educational work around racism, the Panthers, self-defense, etc."

"NLN" of April 24, 1969, page 1, "Free Huey on May Day," by MIKE KLONSKY, SDS National Secretary:

"Because May Day is the international workers' holiday, no finer time could be picked to hold demonstrations and rallies, since Huey has time and time again articulated the needs of all working people and has fought against the exploitation and oppression of all people.

"Demonstrations presently being planned include a massive rally in San Francisco at the Federal Court House, 450 South Golden Gate Ave. It is expected that more than 20,000 will attend this 10 a.m. rally even though it is being called on a weekday.

"Another is being called in Chicago at noon at the Federal Building, 219 South Dearborn. Speakers at the Chicago rally will include Mike Klonsky, SDS National Secretary; Cha Cha Jimenez, head of the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican liberation organization; Fred Hampton, Chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, and representatives from several other black, white and Latin organizations in the city.



"New York, the scene of perhaps the heaviest anti-Panther repression in recent months, is also scheduling a demonstration.

"The SDS National Office has sent messages to German SDS and other European movement organizations to ask them to join us in May Day demonstrations, demanding that Huey and all black political prisoners be set free.

"Demonstrations should be seen as a chance to implement the Panther resolution passed at the Austin NC. The whole question of following black leadership must be brought out as well as the necessity to attack white supremacy. When we demand that black political prisoners be freed, it presents us with an opportunity to attack the racism of many of our people. Support for black liberation is the only basis for revolutionary class unity, and we must see Huey P. Newton as a leader of the whole people's movement and not just the Panthers.

"POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

"FREE HUEY!"

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E. SPEECHES OF NATIONAL SECRETARIES

An Eastern Regional Conference of SDS was held at Princeton University on February 1 and 2, 1969. MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary of SDS, spoke on the spring offensive proposal of Columbia University, SDS, called, "Smash the Military Machine in the Schools," and introduced a revised proposal.

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On February 17, 1969, MIKE KLONSKY spoke at Roosevelt University in Chicago, Illinois. KLONSKY stated that the problems of society were hunger, poverty, and exploitation and that these were the direct result of capitalism. He claimed that capitalism was the worst thing that had ever happened to mankind and that freedom will come through a revolution in which many lives will be lost. He cited the example of the Cuban Revolution as being successful because CASTRO and GUEVERRA educated the people. The end result was a socialist state. b1

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On February 14 - 16, 1969, a Niagara Regional Conference of SDS was held at the State University of New York at Albany, New York. The chairman of the meeting was BERNARDINE DOHRN, National SDS Leader. DOHRN stated that SDS must overcome its fear of powerlessness which now exists on the university campuses. Without a powerful revolution, SDS cannot hope to accomplish anything. Since reform is useless and since small victories have no effect, SDS must not accept anything short of true revolution. DOHRN stated that we know who the enemy is because it

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consists of those persons who control our government. We must completely destroy this enemy; we want a socialist government.

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On February 28, 1969, FRED GORDON, Internal Educational Secretary, SDS, was the featured speaker at Louisiana State University (LSU), New Orleans, Louisiana. GORDON spoke for approximately two hours and during his speech espoused the line of the Progressive Labor Party (PLP). It was learned that the LSU Student Government had given GORDON \$100 for his expenses.

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On March 1, 1969, an area wide SDS Conference was held at Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana. FRED GORDON was the featured speaker; and he commented at length on the alliance of students and workers and in general presented the line of PLP.

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On March 4, 1969, Sheriff RAY HAMLIN, Leon County, Tallahassee, Florida, advised that 60 Florida State University students had been arrested on that date by Tallahassee, Florida local law enforcement officers for violation of a circuit court order which prohibited the FSU SDS Chapter from holding a meeting on campus. Sheriff HAMLIN advised that among those arrested was FRED GORDON, National Secretary for SDS.



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On March 15 and 16, 1969, the Michigan Regional Conference of SDS was held at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. BERNARDINE DOHRN, Inter-organizational Secretary, discussed ten resolutions that may be presented at the forthcoming SDS National Council meeting to be held in Austin, Texas. During the meeting on March 15, 1969, a collection was taken to pay for DOHRN's plane fare.

On March 16, 1969, the Regional Conference broke up into a number of workshops, and DOHRN attended the workshop on high school organizing. b1

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On April 10, 1969, MIKE KLONSKY was the featured speaker at a meeting sponsored by SDS at Florida State University in Tallahassee, Florida. KLONSKY spoke on the plight of the poor and the interest that SDS has in their welfare. At this meeting a collection was taken up to help pay for his travel expenses. b1



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On April 11, 1969, MIKE KLONSKY was the featured speaker at a Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) rally held on the campus of the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

KLONSKY spoke on the role of SDS in the radical movement and condemned the capitalistic, imperialistic society in which we live. When asked what steps would be necessary for a takeover of the present form of government, KLONSKY stated, "take whatever steps are necessary and by any means". KLONSKY also said that he would not be provoked into saying or doing anything openly that would cause him to catch "the rap for ten years or more".

KLONSKY stated that this was the time for revolution and it was for the students and the oppressed minority to kick the present system and takeover to form a "truly communistic society that would work for the poor and the oppressed".

During his speech, KLONSKY openly admitted that he was a communist, but that he was a minority in SDS. He stated that some of the people call themselves communists, some fascists, and some anarchists, but they all work for the same goal in SDS.

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On April 19, 1969, a session of the Ohio Regional SDS Conference was held in Akron, Ohio, at which BERNARDINE DOHRN was to have spoken on racism. The main topic of the session on April 19, 1969, however, concerned the happenings at Kent State University and the need for SDS to raise bail money for those arrested.

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On April 21, 1969, an open mass meeting, sponsored by the Columbia University SDS, was held in Schermerhorn Hall at Columbia University in New York City. BERNARDINE DOHRN was one of the featured speakers and she stated that she had just come from Ohio where she had been traveling and working with various SDS chapters. She mentioned the demonstrations that had occurred at Kent State College where arrests had been made. She stated that at a meeting of other Ohio chapters of SDS, then being held approximately 60 miles from Kent State, it was decided that everyone would go to Kent State and act in place of the regular chapter. DOHRN commented that rallies raps and leafleting were done by these people from all over Ohio. She suggested that this be done in New York City and other places to help counteract injunctions and arrests of leadership.

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### III. IDEOLOGY

#### A. ACCEPTANCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM

##### 1. Current Posture

From the time of the June, 1968, National Convention to the March, 1969, National Council meeting the national leadership of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) has taken an increasingly Marxist-Leninist stance in projecting a program for the organization. Although BERNARDINE DOHRN was accorded applause when stating she was a "revolutionary communist" at the 1968 National Convention other leaders did not so identify themselves. Today self-identification as a revolutionary or Marxist-Leninist or communist is commonplace. At the recent National Council (NC) meeting MIKE KLONSKY called for the formation of a "revolutionary movement" and his pronouncements are completely Marxist-Leninist in content. This advancement to a Marxist-Leninist position may reflect a natural growth wherein a theoretical education was necessary to explain a basic socialist program and/or the internal struggle with Progressive Labor Party (PLP) accelerated the ideological training of SDS leaders as a means by which they could combat the dogmatic utterances of PLP.

In either event the concept of "participatory democracy" is passe and is considered a relic of the past by present SDS leaders.

As a result of the defeat of the PLP inspired worker-student alliance program the issue now being debated is how to develop the question of the class nature of youth; whether youth is a part of the working class or whether as a class experiences special oppression. Present SDS leadership accept the Marxist-Leninist dogma that revolution can only be accomplished by the working class, hence, the need for youth to establish its relationship to the "revolutionary" working class.

The national question was the heart of the ideological dispute between PLP forces and SDS leaders. Whether or not to wholeheartedly support the black liberation struggle in the United States and the Democratic Republic of (North) Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam was the programmatic aspect of their differences. PLP contended that the black liberation struggle is a part of and must join with the white working class now to defeat United States imperialism; that the DRV and NLF are unprincipled in going to the conference table with the United States. SDS leaders contended that at this moment in history the black liberation struggle in general and the BPP in particular must be supported as the vanguard in the struggle against United States imperialism; that their struggle is now a national question but will become a class question in the future when they join with the white working class to create revolution. Further, all revolutionaries have but one outlook which is to fully support the DRV and NLF; any other position is counter-revolutionary.

The NC in March, 1969, supported the SDS leadership position overwhelmingly on these issues.

With respect to anarchistic elements within SDS, the current leaders believe that although some of these individuals are good people, their rejection of ideology defeats the development of a revolutionary program. Further, the current leadership tends to the belief that spontaneous action cannot lead to a long term revolutionary movement. The general sentiment at the recent NC meeting was that the anarchistic elements are freaks and even though the proposal objecting to drug use was defeated it was agreed among the leaders that drug use is a negative factor in a revolutionary movement.

Because of the strength of PLP forces in the eastern chapters, SDS may well be faced with another confrontation at the forthcoming National Convention

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to be held in June, 1969, but because of the results at the recent NC meeting the leadership of SDS felt they had done very well both in presenting a Marxist-Leninist position on all issues and in defeating the theoretical line of PLP.

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2. Revolutionary Union (RU)

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Statement of Principles

Marxism, from its creation in the 1840's by KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS to its present day application and development by MAO Tse-tung, has had to fight for its position every step of the way. This is only natural, since it is the reflection, in the realm of ideas, of the actual class struggles of the proletariat--viewed in the light of all past history. As the working-class must struggle in the realm of practice against other classes, and in alliance--temporary or long term--with other classes, so the theory of the working class must contend with those of other classes, and, primarily, of course, with that of its absolute enemy, the capitalist class.

The two main areas of ideology with which Marxism-Leninism constantly contends are bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideology, corresponding to the two main non-proletarian exploiting classes. In colonial and semi-colonial countries, there is, in addition, feudal ideology. This ideological battle takes place, both between the Marxist-Leninist party and other parties, and within the Marxist-Leninist party itself. Non-proletarian and anti-proletarian ideology surround the working class and its party on all sides, and is historically, materially, and technically much stronger than proletarian ideology.

Ideologies, whether bourgeois or proletarian, serve the interests of their respective classes, but that is as far as the similarity goes. Proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism, is true social science: it is both partisan and, at the same time, an objective, true reflection of the real social process. This is so because the interests of the working class are in accordance with the progressive evaluation of history; the proletariat cannot free itself completely without freeing all of society, by abolishing class society altogether. It cannot become a new exploiting class and it has, therefore, no interests which are ultimately directed against any section of society. Its ideology must be "objectively true" or it cannot liberate itself. Bourgeois ideology, on the other hand, in any of its variants, can only serve its class by concealing its own class character, and the objective nature of reality.

This continuous practical and ideological struggle within the socialist organizations and among the masses came to be known as "the struggle between two lines." Working-class leadership in the united front against petty-bourgeois leadership; all-round political struggle against the institutions of the state vs. narrow trade union economism; armed struggle vs. peaceful transition; reliance on mass struggle vs. reliance on parliamentary maneuvers; proletarian internationalism vs. national chauvinism; revolutionary vs. reformist practice--all these contradictions, and many others, are battled out to victory or partial victory, or to setback or defeat for the proletarian camp.

LENIN not only revived and developed the fundamental tenets of Marxism concerning class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He also fashioned concrete principles for the nature and functioning of the vanguard party as a disciplined detachment of the proletariat, practicing criticism and self-criticism and combining legal and illegal work. He analyzed imperialism as a world system, describing its distorting effects not only on the colonial and semi-colonial world, but on the working-class of the imperialist countries as well, where a privileged caste is created by the bribery of the monopoly ruling class. It was on this "aristocracy of labor" that the socialist parties of Europe had based their program, and, LENIN pointed out, this explained their overall reformist approach and their ultimate capitulation to their own imperialism. Finally, LENIN developed the strategy of worker-peasant alliance in an underdeveloped country.

In this period, MAO Tse-tung occupies the same relation to the revolutionary movement that LENIN did in his day: Defender of the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and leader in summing up revolutionary experience and developing the military, political, economic and ideological strategy that will finish off world imperialism, headed by the United States. This is the meaning of the concept "the thought of MAO Tse-tung" -- Marxism-Leninism applied to present day struggles against imperialism and revisionism.

While we would not want to discourage anyone from seeking new solutions to old problems, it does not seem appropriate to shelve such principles as a disciplined vanguard party and a dictatorship of the proletariat, that have been proved necessary and decisive



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in successful revolutions because of difficulties and shortcomings in their practice. Much better to learn from previous error and develop a surer practice. But rejection of these concepts, based on their revisionist misapplication, reinforces a natural, even unconscious, fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the part of many, especially from the middle classes. There is an objective basis for this fear, inasmuch as the functioning of the dictatorship of the proletariat will destroy the relative advantage the middle classes hold over the proletariat. Similarly, there is rejection of participation in a disciplined organization based on criticism and self-criticism because of reluctance to fight against individual interest and devote one's self to the interest of the people. It is a difficult problem for revolutionary collectives and for the individuals in them--a real struggle. So, to avoid that struggle, and because of unconscious shirking, the search for a device to replace revolutionary organization will doubtless continue.

### 3. On Revolution

"MLN" of February 28, 1969, page seven, featured the following quote:

"A revolution is not the same as inviting people to dinner, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing fancy needlework; it cannot be anything so restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an uprising, an act of violence whereby one class overthrows another."

- MAO Tse-tung



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## B. WRITINGS

### 1. Youth Movement

"NLN" of January 22, 1969, page 7  
"Analysis of the Youth Movement"  
by HOWIE MACHTINGER, Chicago Region,  
SDS, University of Chicago

"Children as a class - NO. What Marx understood (and what we are beginning to) is that class analysis had to be concrete and specific, and a class analysis was not effectively carried out by exhortations that the primary contradiction was between the working class and the ruling class. Beyond that, we must understand, for instance, the youth "problem" by understanding the way in which bourgeois class rule leads (at certain times) to super-exploitation of children in the factories and (at more times) to oppression at home, and (at this time) to other kinds of oppression of youth. One of the key points of Klonsky's resolution ("Toward a Revolutionary Youth Movement", NLN, Jan. 8) is that at this time, in America, in the midst perhaps of what Lenin called the moribund stage of imperialism, youth are oppressed in particular ways which create the potential for a youth movement which can 1) raise and fight for demands which are in the interest of "the working class as a whole" and 2) help to build a revolutionary working class movement in the shops and in the communities. (This second I'll discuss in the next issue of NLN.)

### TRADE UNION LEGACY

"The problem of the American working class movement, historically, has not been a lack of militancy. It has a glorious history which we should all learn, as we begin to think of it more and more as our history. ....

"The problem is to unite the working class against imperialism, racism and to enable them to act together to demand jobs for everyone. How? What does a youth movement have to do with all this? ....

"Youth inherits a society, and it assesses its inheritance as it comes into possession of it. Thus as Lenin and Klonsky both point out, youth can become a critical force. This has always been true in non-static societies. The point of the above analysis is to show that present conditions in American society oppress youth particularly, and in such a way as to allow for the raising of demands which are crucial to the creation and development of a revolutionary working class movement. ....

"A nation-wide anti-ROTC, anti-military campaign which moves into the high schools (as suggested in the Smash the Military ... working paper, NLN, Jan. 15) is an important step toward developing the kind of anti-imperialist consciousness that both Marx (in his writings on the Irish question) and Lenin (in his commentary on the British working class as the partial beneficiary of imperialism) understood was crucial for a revolutionary movement. ....

"To sum up and elaborate slightly: a class-conscious youth movement is important because -

"1) at this time youth is the group in America which has the best opportunity to raise issues such as imperialism and racism and adequate job opportunities which traditionally have been difficult to raise, and which are at the same time absolutely crucial if a divided working class is to act in unity in opposition to the American ruling class;

"2) a class-conscious youth movement will understand the importance of taking the above issues to the working class rather than condescendingly treating working people as essentially irrelevant .....



"3) it means a change from a student power orientation in the university to one that attacks the university as an imperialist and racist institution - ....

"4) such a movement will further attack the conception of a university as a congregation of experts dedicated to the pursuit of elusive truth whose standards cannot be lowered to permit admission of these unqualified for such pursuits and develop an idea of a university which serves the people (we demand increased admission of blacks and other working class applicants, or hopefully all such applicants) and acts as an agent of social change (we demand a black studies department, a working class history department, Marxists on the faculty; .....

"But before I conclude this article, I think it is important to distinguish the analysis presented here from one which mechanically separates student struggle from working class struggle and then pastes them together because they both have a common enemy, and recognizes the need to unite to fight against it. Students are bored, find everything meaningless, and feel impotent in relation to powerful forces such as the university and the government whereas workers are exploited by their bosses. In both cases the ruling class is the oppressive agent. In opposition to that analysis, I have tried to develop a position which substantiates Klonsky's statement that "our struggle is the class struggle."

"NLN" of January 29, 1969, page 6

"Klonsky Resolution"

by DON HAMMERQUIST

"Carl Davidson has stated (Guardian, Jan. 11) that the Christmas NC meeting of SDS at Ann Arbor marked a major turning point for that organization. I think that Davidson understates the importance of the NC. In fact, it marked a major turning point for the left in this country. For the first time in a number of years,



debate over a revolutionary strategy seems to be coming out from beneath sectarian maneuverings and aimless rhetoric and to be taking on clear significance for the political practice of important mass movement.

"The central feature of the NC was the presentation and the narrow passage of the Klonsky resolution - "Towards a Revolutionary Youth Movement". The essence of the resolution is the perspective that SDS must become a revolutionary youth movement and not remain an "anti-imperialist student organization".

"Thus, in terms of the student movement, the problem is the development of a strategic framework which can translate its momentum and revolutionary consciousness into those activities and forms of organization where these can contribute the maximum to the development of a revolutionary working class movement. And without such a strategic framework, the class conscious elements in the student movement will lack a stable base from which to combat the tendency for the politics of this movement to degenerate into either student power reformism or anarchism. The necessity and urgency for the changes proposed, then, comes both from the overall needs of the revolution and from the particular needs of the student movement.

#### MARXIST CATEGORIES

"Much of the confusion in the debate over the resolution at Ann Arbor flowed from the failure to clearly state this strategic context. What tended to happen in the debate was that people were able to invoke Marxist categories as an alternative to what was essentially a Marxist analysis. While it is certainly good that SDS is increasingly adopting Marxist categories, it would be tragic if this came to mean that one could invoke the "main contradiction" or the "class character of the

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state" as an answer to all of the immense practical and theoretical problems involved in developing a Marxist strategy appropriate to this particular historical situation in this particular capitalist country. Marxist theory is a means to a revolutionary strategy, it is not a substitute for a strategy nor a pre-packaged strategy in itself.

## 2. Black Nationalism

"NLN" of February 12, 1969, page 6

"White Radical Students and Black Demands"  
by CARL DAVIDSON

"The vanguard actions of black students attacking the racism of American universities have raised important strategic questions for white radical students. What is the best way for white students to relate to these struggles?

"The main thrust of the black students' actions has been for the self-determination of black people, black studies departments, black curriculum, special black admissions policies, and, most important, control over all these by black students themselves.

"White students have reacted to these demands in several ways. Some have directly opposed them, for overtly racist reasons. Many have been confused, not understanding why an education 'good enough for us is not good enough for them.' Some have supported the demands for the wrong reasons, thinking black students need special assistance to 'raise them up to our cultural level.'

"Obviously, white radicals have a special responsibility to fight against these attitudes among their fellow students. But several approaches that have been taken to this problem are wrong.

"One of the worst has been the formulation of 'white demands.' In order to move white students into a common struggle with blacks against the administration, the argument goes, they must be able to fight for additional demands of their 'own.'

"This is wrong on two counts. First, white people are not oppressed because they are white. The opposite is true. Any formulation for struggle based on 'whiteness' is inherently,



if not immediately, reactionary.

"The second mistake in this approach is the assumption that anti-racist demands are only in the interest of black people. The rest of the students supposedly would not benefit from winning these demands...

"Students as a whole do not have a common class interest. They are not a class in themselves, but reflect the class divisions of the larger society. A few are from the ruling class. Some come from the petty-bourgeoisie and middle classes. But in this country, the majority of students come from the working class and will return to the more highly skilled sectors of the working class after graduation.

"This mixed bag is the basis of the ambiguity of 'student power' demands. Where there is a common interest uniting all students, it usually only concerns narrow on-campus academic and social conditions. Strategies limited to these concerns can, at best, only lead to university reformism...

"Since one of the main barriers to the development of class consciousness and revolutionary class solidarity among working people has been racism and the practice of white supremacy, it is in the class interest of all working people and most students to destroy the structure of white privilege. This is especially true in those situations where some white students and working people might have to go against their immediate self-interests to win their class interests.

#### Dual Oppression

"Black people in this country are oppressed in two ways: they suffer a national oppression as a people as well as a class exploitation as a superexploited section of the working class. In this situation, it is in the class interest of the working class of the oppressor nation to support anti-colonial demands as well as the class demands

of the oppressed nation. Why? Because there is no other basis for revolutionary class unity as long as the practice and structure of white supremacy exists.

" From this perspective, the errors of the 'student power' and 'white demands' approaches are more clear. The job of white radical students is mobilizing the majority of white students (and working people off the campus) to fight for the black demands. This should be done, not out of liberal sympathy for the blacks, but as a struggle in their own class interests.

"The black students are waging a class struggle. White radicals should expand it, not divert it by raising non-class student power issues in its midst.

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"The upsurge in the black liberation movement has brought about the growth of national consciousness among the black people, the consciousness that the black liberation struggle is essentially one of national liberation from imperialist oppression, and the increasing identification of the character of their struggle with the world-wide anti-colonial struggles of Asia, Africa and Latin America.....

"The key task facing the revolutionary movement is the defeat of white supremacy. The key task facing white revolutionaries is bringing to the white masses the awareness that the white skin privilege is the tool of the ruling class, that acceptance of it is a betrayal and abandonment of the class struggle, and that they must organize to oppose it, in the interests of popular solidarity.....

### 3. Women's Movement

"NLN" of March 7, 1969, featured the following quote:

"The proletariat cannot achieve complete freedom unless it achieves complete freedom for women. -Lenin"



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"NLN" of February 12, 1969, page 6  
"Basis of White Supremacy"  
by NOEL IGNATIN

"The capitalist system of the U.S., and indeed of the entire western "civilized world," arose out of the extermination of the Indians and the enslavement of Africans. The 18th century witnessed the establishment of the colonies in the West Indies, on land looted from the aboriginal population. It was slavery which gave value to these colonies. It was the wealth produced in these colonies, as well as the slave trade necessary to supply them with human labor, which gave rise to modern commerce. It was this commerce which gave rise to modern industry and the exploitation of wage labor.....

"The main weapon which has been used by the U.S. capitalists throughout the whole history of their rise to the status of number one exploiter and enemy of the people of the world has been the theory and practice of white supremacy.

"White supremacy, while clearly serving as the rationale and justification for the enslavement of the non-white peoples, has served also to bind American white labor to the ruling class in a tie of racial solidarity.....

"The foremost component of the popular fight back is, at present, the struggle for national liberation of the oppressed black colony. In every sphere of political conflict, whether in the student movement, the anti-war movement or the labor movement, black people are the spearhead of the people's forces. This is recognized by everyone.

"NLN" of March 7, 1969, page four, "Toward a Revolutionary Women's Movement" by BERNARDINE DOHRN, Inter-Organizational Secretary:

"Women radicals are split: there are the politicos (those women who are full time movement organizers, who are conscious of the oppression of women who raise the question as part of their work, and help other movement women to that consciousness, and who discount the revolutionary potential of a women's movement) and there are the 'professional women' (those women who are full time women who feel the priority of developing a women's liberation movement, often separatist, and who are generally cynical about the movement, any ideology, and SDS). . . .

"Most of the women's groups are bourgeois, unconscious or unconcerned with class struggle and the exploitation of working class women, and chauvinists concerning the oppression of black and brown women. They practice a false communism, reminiscent of the early days of SDS p.d. (participatory democracy), where struggle is not allowed under the guise of 'respect for one another' and anti-authoritarianism. . . .

"A revolutionary women's movement must be politically based on the most oppressed sectors--black, brown and white working-class women. This does not mean that movement women are not a significant part of that movement, or that we must wait until there is a working class women's movement to support. It does mean that we must be conscious of our perspective and the class interests which our demands represent. It means that our immediate job is to organize masses of women around the full scope of radical demands--including the destruction of male supremacy."

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### C. THE RADICAL MOVEMENT

"The Guardian" of April 12, 1969, page 12, contained under "Viewpoint":

"A new radical movement is developing in the United States, an angry, tough and militant movement.

"The diverse struggles of these last years against the Vietnam war, racism, poverty, exploitation, militarism, authoritarianism and institutionalized hypocrisy are beginning to coalesce.

"The result is an inchoate anticapitalist movement, far, as yet, from generalized class consciousness but sufficiently aware and experienced to perceive many of the contradictions of capitalist society.

"This movement, basically but not exclusively of the young, is beginning to draw strength from the black, poor and working-class communities as well as from college students and intellectuals.

"No single organization, and often no organization at all, represents the political interests of this new radical movement, although SDS provides the mass vehicle for white student radicals. There are many 'vanguards' but no one vanguard with which the whole of this movement identifies.

"It was largely this movement which turned out 100,000 strong in New York April 5 to protest the war in Vietnam, a demonstration which was both a quantitative and qualitative escalation of the antiwar struggle-and much more besides.

"The left-liberal coalition peace movement, as it has been known for several years, is collapsing, at least in New York, its heart. Some liberals have turned to the left, some to the right. Some remained where they were, which is now too far behind the battle to be considered combatant. This process will spread to other cities, if it has not already done so.



"Middle-class liberals, who once predominated in the organized antiwar movement by sheer numbers and political influence, are now a minority, though the decline in influence has taken overlong. The 'hard-core' radicals of last August in Chicago and January in Washington are now ascendant, not simply relative to the liberal shambles but absolutely, in terms of numbers and influence. . .

"In the last year or so the growth of the left, especially among the young, has transformed the active section of the antiwar movement into a radical movement, even though its organizational structure—a loose coalition of primarily single-issue peace groups and citywide networks—has remained formally the same. Due partially to the fact that institutions change more slowly than people, left influence has not always been commensurate with strength, but this influence has clearly been exerted in the intensified militancy against the war, in the growing anti-imperialist consciousness manifest in the movement and in the interjection of a variety of issues related to the antiwar struggle.

"It is clearly time for the general antiwar movement to recognize in theory what it is in practice—a mass radical movement with Vietnam as its central but not exclusive thrust, and that, indeed, other issues such as racism, imperialism, oppression and the struggle against capitalism are relevant and necessary struggles. . .

"The antiwar movement is back in the running, thanks in large measure to the growth of the radical movement. The mass turnout April 5, however, must not be taken as a mandate to continue business as usual. The movement will not always have the advantage of a fresh attempt at repression by the government to pull things together at the last moment.

"Any effort to revive the old left-liberal coalition as it formerly operated—resulting in a watering-down of radical politics, compromise and caution born of conservatism—or to push the movement back to a Vietnam-only perspective, could bring things to a standstill again.

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"The antiwar movement must continue to develop along radical lines and must continue to deal with a totality of issues. . .

"We cannot say whether the organized antiwar movement is capable of being transformed into the correct organizational mode for the new radical movement. Even if the antiwar movement continues to move left and becomes a genuinely multi-issue force, this is a matter of conjecture and doubt.

"But it is inevitable that such an organization take shape.

"We must keep in mind that the new radical movement came alive only very recently, more recently than this 'rebellious decade' would suggest. Perhaps it is only during the last year or so that we could say a new radical movement was being born, although the struggle as we know it today began in the early 1960s.

"The new element which has given promise to our growth is largely to be found in the young people who have in the last year virtually retched their contempt for rapist America; the black people, who have risen insistent in glorious anger and hatred against the racist oppressor; the women newly perceptive of their oppression in a society suffocating with male supremacy; the poor who are just learning articulation; the soldier who sacrifices his freedom and sometimes his life to say no to a monstrous military machine seemingly capable of grinding him to dust; the working man and woman at the very beginning of recognition that security under capitalism is a farce.

"These are the ingredients of revolution. They will ferment."

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#### IV. RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

##### A. BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

The educational packet furnished to the NC meeting in the words of KLONSKY was the best effort of the National Office and he was quite pleased that the NC approved it overwhelmingly. The packet essentially dealt with the black movement in this country and in particular recognizes that the BPP is the vanguard of the revolutionary movement today. The leadership of SDS state that SDS tails the BPP in its revolutionary intentions, hence, must raise itself to the level of consciousness to that now held by the BPP. The complete support and unquestioned attitude of approval by the leaders of SDS as it relates itself to the BPP was a significant development at the NC meeting held in March, 1969.

b1 [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]

(c)

b1 [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]

(c)

b1 [REDACTED]



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In March, 1969, MIKE KLONSKY, National Secretary, SDS, attempted to contact National BPP leaders in San Francisco, California, but was unsuccessful. (A)

(CG T- [REDACTED])

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B. REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU)

b1

[REDACTED] (c)

b1

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b1

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b1

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#### C. PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY (PLP)

Prior to the start of the NC meeting held in Austin, Texas, in March, 1969, the leaders of SDS stated their concern over the possibilities of a PLP takeover at the NC. This feeling was shared by many members and it was not certain how the NC meeting would turn out until after the vote taken on ED JENNINGS' proposal on the BPP which was a defeat for PLP youth forces. The line between SDS national leaders and their supporting membership and PLP and their Worker Student Alliance (WSA) contingent was clear cut and at this NC meeting resulted for a complete defeat for PLP forces.

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SDS national leadership are elated over the defeat of PLP forces, but feel that another attempt will be made by PLP at the National Convention in June, 1969, if not to takeover then to at least elect one of the three national secretaries of their own choosing. The SDS leadership feels that since every participant has one vote at a National Convention unlike a National Council meeting wherein only recognized delegate votes based on national membership are counted that this will favor PLP and they will attempt to pack the National Convention.

During the recent NC it was generally cited although no proof was given that PLP was accepting large amounts of funds from China; that because of this PLP was not free to set an independent ideological course. This statement worked to the disadvantage of PLP and their actions at the NC confirmed to many their dogmatic outlook which is not acceptable to the majority of SDS. b1

D. CP, USA [REDACTED]

During the debate on the China-Soviet Union border question at the SDS NC meeting, a speaker from the floor who identified himself as a member of the CP was hooted down and shouted at when he identified himself. This also occurred in one of the workshops, March 28, 1969, to the extent that the representative of the CP was unable to speak. In fact, on this, MIKE KLONSKY chastised the Party representative for selling out the black people for the past 30 years.

The CP, USA is regarded as an arm of the Soviet Union is completely "revisionist" and operates in collusion with United States imperialism. Because of the total rejection of the CP, USA among the leadership of SDS, it is not believed that they have any appreciable influence at all within SDS; nor is it believed that in a subsequent factional dispute, that the Party would be able to exercise any influence in controlling any part of those attendees at this NC meeting. b1

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The present position nationally of the CP, USA with regard to SDS is that the Party should make efforts to influence SDS as it is regarded as the leading mass student organization existing, but to date the Party has been unsuccessful in capturing any appreciable segment of SDS. The CP has no contact with the SDS national leadership in Chicago.

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The CP, USA "Draft Main Political Resolution", January, 1969, which was approved by the National Committee as a basis for discussion at the forthcoming CP, USA National Convention revealed the following concerning the youth movement:

"Since the 18th Convention, the pace of radicalization has increased rapidly. Among white working-class youth, ferment has deepened and there is greater receptivity to Left ideas. Among black youth, there has been a virtual explosion, ideologically and in action. Spontaneous mass actions of high school students have swept the country, in protest against racist conditions in education and for recognition of Afro-American cultural and historical contributions.

"There has been a great upsurge of national consciousness and national pride among black youth. Their sit-ins sparked youth's breakthrough in the early 1960's. In the trade unions they have played a prominent role in the black caucuses.

"The anti-war activities of youth in the armed forces signal a new chapter in youth's resistance to the Vietnam slaughter, already symbolized by the anti-draft movement and the activities of returned veterans.

"Student rebellions have spread from campus to campus, expanding the struggle against the Vietnam war, arousing the struggle against racism on the campus, and proclaiming the students' right to have a voice in deciding what shall be taught, how it shall be taught, and who shall be taught. Demands have become widespread to replace monopoly control of our universities and community control, also to increase vastly the proportion of working-class, black, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American youth in their student bodies.

"The New Left has gone through an important process of development in the last four years. From a "plague on both your houses" attitude to the capitalist and socialist worlds, substantial sections have come to identify themselves with such sections of the world Communist movement as Vietnam and Cuba. U. S. imperialism is now regarded as the chief source of reaction and war. Increasingly, the working class and particularly the blue-collar workers are viewed as the key to social change. Increasingly, the ruling class is identified as monopoly capital. Many refer to themselves as "Marxist" or "revolutionary communists."

"But it would be wrong to conclude, as some do, that all of these sections of the New Left have moved all the way to Marxism. Far from it.

"Many of them have become involved in catch-all organizations of Leftward-moving students. They embrace many political trends ranging from liberal to anarchist and ultra-Left. The dominant trend remains middle-class radicalism. With regard to their attitude to the working class, a good many in these organizations retain a Marcusean bias and orient themselves toward the national liberation movements. We must, of course, seek to work with these organizations and to influence them.



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"The possibilities of youth unity are growing, but the forms of united struggle still lag behind the degree of radicalization. This gap is due to the spontaneous character of the youth movement and to the lack of a strong, Marxist current among youth.

"A mass Marxist youth organization, uniting youth in democratic struggles, and loose enough to embrace varied trends while remaining under Marxist leadership, has not yet been realized. But today, the base for a mass socialist youth movement is growing.


"Within the student movement young people are increasingly discussing socialism. While it is unlikely that any of the left groups can be won as a whole to Marxism in the near future, the crystallizing of a strong Marxist current within them is a realistic outlook. This would guarantee the development of a clear mass line, while providing the base for building an independent Marxist organization."

#### E. YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (YSA)

At the NIC meeting held on March 31, 1969, in Austin, Texas, it was announced that the "Trotkysites" would lead the April 5, 1969, peace march. The NIC decided that although it would be alright for individual SDS members to participate in the march if they so desired that the NIC would not mandate any proposals in favor of participation.

Because of the attitude expressed by MIKE KLONSKY, BERNARDINE DOHRN and other SDS leaders in opposition of YSA there is no question but that YSA has no appreciable influence among national SDS leaders or the membership at large although there may be some individual chapters having sentiment favorable to YSA.

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YSA both on a national and local basis attempt to involve SDS in joint activities, but as generally experienced these attempts have failed. There is no close relationship existing between YSA and SDS national leaders.

The major differences between YSA and SDS is that SDS looks upon YSA as too secretarian and not as militant as they could be; that the building of a mass based anti-war demonstration is not a correct tactic. Then too, SDS is now oriented toward the Black Panther Party and the eventual joining with the BPP in a revolutionary movement.

There also exists within SDS many who are sons and daughters of parents who had CP, USA backgrounds and have come to believe from this background that the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its youth arm, YSA are antagonistic left wing forces.

In the international scene the SWP supports both the economic systems of the Soviet Union and China although strongly anti-government; the only government of communist orientation supported by the SWP is Cuba.

b1 [REDACTED]

#### F. RADICAL EDUCATION PROJECT (REP)

REP is located in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and was formed in June, 1966, as an action project of SDS to develop an internal education arm for the new left movement and to serve as a research, education, and publication center. REP has been staffed by leading intellectuals of the new left and is only recently believed to have severed its connection financially with SDS to become a separate but affiliated group.

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According to REP literature its purpose is to educate activists in the movement which will sustain their commitment throughout their lives; to create a framework in which people can experiment in creating radical vocations; to seek to develop fact and theory on the issues of a left program. The principal activity of REP is a literature program.

b1 [REDACTED]

SDS continues to maintain the Radical Education Center (REC) as its educational and literature disbursing arm and which is operated from the SDS National Office. A fraternal relationship is maintained with REP.

b1 [REDACTED]

#### G. SOUTHERN STUDENTS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

At the NC meeting in March, 1969, held in Austin, Texas, a proposal was debated and adopted which severed the fraternal relationship existing between SDS and the SSOC. The proposal in part reads:

"The growing development of a revolutionary movement in the South poses important questions concerning SDS's role in the South and its relationships with other groups, in particular, the SSOC. SSOC undoubtedly represents one of the ruling class's main efforts to build its kind of student movement in the South.

"SSOC has, from its inception, been funded by such sources as the Kennedy controlled Field Foundation, the Aaron L. Norman Fund, and the Taconic Foundation. It has always been dominated by a self-perpetuating group of staffed bureaucrats. If those were the only things that could be said against SSOC, that might be bad, but not conclusive. What is conclusive is its bourgeois liberalism and its Southern exceptionalism ("Southern consciousness").



" SSOC is basically a politically liberal organization. It sees liberalism as a progressive force in the South. The rise of bourgeois liberalism in the South will destroy the old system of plantation politics as well as create a more progressive political climate in which the "left" can grow, free of the harassment and persecution visited upon the "left" by the old-style Southern politicians. Liberalism is also seen as a useful organizing tool to win Southern white students to a broad movement which can then be "radicalized" by SSOC. SSOC is very much like the old Steve Max forces in SDS - their rhetoric is radical and occasionally revolutionary (at least when they talk to SDS people), but what they actually tell people on a day-to-day basis is fundamentally liberal.

" CONCLUSION: There remains a pressing need for a revolutionary movement in the South; we can never make a revolution with only 3/4 of a country. We who have built the first SDS chapters in the deep South have discovered that the same political ideas and organizing techniques that have built movements in the North and West will, if carried out consistently on a long-range basis, build rooted movements in the South. SSOC has tried to exist on the basis of being all things to all men: loyal servant to ruling class foundations, helpful ally to emerging bourgeois liberalism, radical leader to discontented and rebellious Southern white students and workers. We have tried SSOC and found it wanting. We are in the South to stay and so are our politics. Our purpose is not to smash SSOC, but it is to build a revolutionary movement.

" Consequently, (1) the National Council hereby declares the fraternal relations between SDS and SSOC formally dissolved; (2) SDS reaffirms its intentions of organizing on a nationwide basis without exceptions. Specifically, SDS intends to build chapters and regions in the South."

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## V. INTERNATIONAL

### A. POSITION ON THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA

The present sentiment among SDS members and which was expressed at the March, 1969 NC meeting toward the Soviet Union was one of open hostility. The Soviet Union is considered to be an imperialist power likened to United States imperialism and is criticized for not doing enough for the Vietnamese struggling against the United States. The proposal introduced at the NC on the Soviet Union-China border dispute was accepted more in the sense of an anti-Soviet proposal rather than a pro-China resolution. There is some pro-China sentiment among the leaders and members, but this does not appear to have a depth of feeling at this time. This is in part due to the actions of PLP which is an avowed pro-China organization. Also PLP is looked upon as obligated to China for acceptance of funds. The general opinion of SDS members is that the organization is free to set their own Marxist-Leninist course since it has no obligatory ties to a foreign country.

The resolution on the Soviet-China border dispute in part states:

"The recent Soviet imperialist attacks on the Chinese border are part of the overall United States-Soviet plan to encircle China. They are attempting to defeat the Communist Party of China and the Chinese masses, who have fought against Soviet revisionism and counter-revolution. They are also aiding United States Imperialism in attempting to make China's human and natural resources free for imperialist exploitation. Thus, the USSR has been moving troops to the Chinese border since the invasion of Czechoslovakia was completed. This has forced China to divert her troops. Soviet imperialist attacks on People's China, then, are attacks on all Marxist-Leninists, all anti-imperialist movements, and all oppressed classes fighting against imperialism. To 'justify' these attacks, the Russian misleaders have begun a viciously racist campaign against the 'yellow Peril' at home

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(echoed in the United States press) and have waged a "diplomatic offensive" abroad to firm up the support of the ruling classes in France, Italy, Japan, etc.

"In recent years, the true meaning of the Soviet revisionists' cry for "peaceful transition to socialism" and "peaceful coexistence" has become clear. On the one hand, they try to extinguish the flames of revolution--either through "aid" or its always reliable sellout revisionist "Communist" Party allies. On the other hand, they actively aid and collaborate with United States imperialism--by giving arms to the Indian government to be used against China, by extending credit to the fascist Indonesian Suharto regime, by working to sell out the Vietnamese people, etc. Though the Soviet imperialists have at times squabbled with United States Imperialism concerning the carving up of the world--as in Czechoslovakia--their basic collusion has not been in the least undermined.

"SDS has a great responsibility to American workers, students and intellectuals to condemn this Soviet Imperialist attack on People's China and revolution everywhere. We must begin to mobilize working people, colonized people, students and the broad masses of oppressed people in this country against the new United States-Soviet counter-revolutionary alliance.

"All chapters are urged to carry on educational work and to agitate around this issue. Slogans such as:

**RUSSIA, GET OUT OF CHINA NOW!**

**FIGHT U.S.-SOVIET COLLUSION!**

**U.S. GET OUT OF TAIWAN NOW!**

should be popularized and demonstrations should be built to make visible our vigorous opposition to this new imperialist trick. Chapters and their base should be won particularly to see the imperialist nature of the Soviet attack, United States-Soviet cooperation, and, the serious consequences for American working people and students. " b1



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## B. VIETNAM

At the NC meeting in March, 1969, the resolution in support of the Vietnamese people was accepted overwhelmingly. Partly this was due to the policy of PLP which in effect denied full support to the DRV and NLF for entering negotiations with the United States, but the sentiment expressed was solidly for the Vietnamese.

The resolution in support of the Vietnamese in part states:

"The Vietnamese people, under the revolutionary leadership of HO Chi-minh and the National Liberation Front, are waging the most advanced struggle in the world today against United States imperialism. The understanding that theirs is a people's war for the liberation and self-determination of their nation is essential for all members of SDS.

"It is possible that, because PL members praise the Chinese Cultural Revolution and the thought of MAO Tse-tung, some may conclude, out of lack of knowledge, that the Chinese have the same position on Vietnam as PL does. Nothing could be further from the truth. Lin Piao's recent speech supports the 'correct leadership of HO Chi-minh in Vietnamese struggle.' It is clear to them that the Vietnamese, led by the working class, bolstered by the experience of socialist construction in the North, once achieving victory, will be in an extremely favorable position to move forward to socialism.

"Support for national liberation struggles against imperialism is the 'cutting edge' that separates revolutionaries from liberals around the world. SDS must take the lead in building support for the Vietnamese people and their revolutionary leadership and deal with all those who oppose their struggle, whether it be Richard Nixon or tendencies within our own movement, by any means necessary."

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[REDACTED]



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"NLN" of Februaru 28, 1969, page 3  
"HO HO HO CHI MINH, the NLF is gonna win!"  
by Bernardine Dohrn, Inter-Organizational Secretary

"There are some within the movement who, at a time when the Vietnamese are facing their toughest attacks from the imperialists, are purposefully trying to distort and misrepresent the position of the NLF and DRV. These lies are an attempt to destroy the faith and respect which the revolutionary leadership of Vietnam has earned from the people during the past quarter of a century of heroic struggle against the French and U.S. imperialist invaders.

"Ho Chi Minh has been called a 'traitor' and a 'revisionist' by some who call themselves Marxists and Leninists. The NLF has been accused of 'selling out' the people of Vietnam. These conclusions come from lies about the leadership's position in Paris, saying that they have retreated from their 'Five Points.' To perpetrate such lies in an attempt to divide the struggle is counter-revolutionary at best, and can only serve the interests of world imperialism.

"It should be obvious that the United States government hopes to win at the conference table what they have lost on the battlefield and lost in the minds of the people. The stated U.S. intention to negotiate for 'peace' to insure the interests of the Vietnamese people and their right to self-determination is a hoax. SDS demands immediate withdrawal of all U.S. presence and attacks the imperialist interest of the U.S. government in Paris as well as in Vietnam. . .

"Both the NLF and the DRV restated their demands: the United States must 'end its war of aggression against Vietnam, definitively cease all infringements upon the sovereignty and security of the DRV, completely and unconditionally withdraw U.S. and satellite troops from South Vietnam, dismantle all U.S. military bases in

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South Vietnam, and let the internal affairs of South Vietnam be settled by the South Vietnamese people themselves in accordance with the Political Programme of the NLF, without foreign interference.' the DRV said, 'We fully support the position of the delegation of the NLF and the way it sets the problem on the basis of its five points. We underline that all U.S. and satellite troops must be withdrawn from South Vietnam without any conditions whatsoever.'

"It is the job of revolutionaries to know, to publicize, and to support these positions. To be intimidated by a counter-revolutionary position which poses as 'super left' is cowardice."

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C. CUBA

Cuba remains an example of a country wherein revolution was successfully waged against imperialism and CASTRO and GUEVERRA are highly regarded among SDS members. There seems to be, however, less attachment to the example of the Cuban revolution by SDS leaders in that they believe that a strong revolutionary movement is necessary to bring about revolutionary conditions rather than spontaneous action. At the NC meeting in March, 1969, Cuba received little attention which was not the case in prior meetings. There may be another SDS trip to Cuba this year; but as yet, the details have not been announced.

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"NLN" of February 1, 1969, page 9  
"NIC Approves Militarization Program"

"The NIC asked NLN to solicit articles on the Middle East, on Biafra and on Cuban trips. People want an article which will discuss the trips from the point of view of what happened to the SDS people who went on the trips, not another article generally discussing Cuba. There's a possibility of another Cuba trip this summer, consisting of one month work in the sugar fields and one month travel. Details will be worked out later."

"NLN" of January 15, 1969, page 5  
"Venceremos"  
by BERNARDINE DORR and others

"This resolution was written for the December NC, but lack of time prevented its presentation. A NIC meeting, held after the NC, passed it.

"January 1969 marks the 10th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution. In solidarity with that defeat of U.S. imperialism and with the ten years of struggle by the Cuban people to build a revolutionary socialist society, SDS calls for a Cuba Week of education and actions.



"SDS will focus on the Cuban struggles during this time, as a beginning of continuing programs which will carry these issues to all of our organizing.

"1) To learn and explain about the Cuban victory as a part of the international struggle between U.S. imperialism and the oppressed people of the world.

"2) To direct attention and programs to U.S. imperialism in Latin America. Although we say imperialism is a system and the war in Vietnam is but one manifestation of that system, our understanding and programs on imperialism have largely been limited to Vietnam. Cuba is a case study of imperialism in this hemisphere.

"3) To educate about the revolutionary principles underlying a socialist society: planning for people's needs, abolition of a money economy, moral incentives, the relationship between manual and mental labor, the development of the New Man. Cuba Week provides the context for rapping about the real struggles being fought for daily since the revolution; it confronts racism and anti-communism; it requires an understanding of communist principles.

"SDS will educate and agitate with programs:

- "a) Distributing pamphlets, literature, posters, Tricontinentals, and Granmas;
- "b) presenting Cuban film festivals and speakers who have traveled to Cuba;
- "c) attacking agencies of U.S. imperialism in Latin America, such as Latin American Institutes, counterinsurgency research centers, sugar exchanges, United Fruit, etc."

"MLN" of January 29, 1969, page 8

"CUBA: the 10th anniversary"

by CARL OGLESBY, NIC Member

OGLESBY after describing his trip to Cuba states:

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"Cuba's economy will begin to take off if she harvests ten million tons of sugar in 1970, and the revolution has staked its honor on reaching this goal.

"If Cuba gets the 10, the revolution is stronger than ever. And this show of strength would almost exactly coincide with the failure and virtual breakdown of the Alliance for Progress. This is a key political fact. Couple it with the US defeat in Vietnam, which asks for vengeance, and Czechoslovakia, where the USSR explicitly affirmed and the US implicitly accepted the politics of spheres of influence, and you have a world situation that puts Cuba once again at the hot spot. What will Nixon do? This is a question which Nixon may not immediately answer. But Cuba is nevertheless going to be with us for a long time."

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ARMY

Concerning WOLFF's appearances on college campuses in the United States, the following are noted:

On February 28, 1969, WOLFF was the featured speaker at the Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco, California. During his comments, he stated that he is a Marxist-Leninist, but does not follow a particular line.

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On February 27, 1969, WOLFF was the featured speaker at a meeting held at the University of California in Berkeley, California. During his comments at this meeting, WOLFF stated that no capitalist country in Europe is safe. He stated the New Left must confront right wing oppressionists and we must create incidents which must expose right wing oppressionists.

b1 [REDACTED]

On March 3, 1969, WOLFF spoke at the SDS Regional Office in Los Angeles, California. The purpose of his talk was to raise funds.

b1 [REDACTED]

On March 3, 1969, WOLFF appeared and spoke at the California State College, Los Angeles, California. He stated the purpose of his appearance was to raise money for radicals that had been arrested in West Germany.

b1 [REDACTED]

On March 3, 1969, WOLFF appeared and spoke at the Los Angeles City College, Los Angeles, California. During his comments, he attacked the CIA for meddling in the affairs of West Germany.

b1 [REDACTED]

On March 3, 1969, WOLFF spoke at the Ash Grove, 8162 Melrose Avenue, Los Angeles. During his speech, he claimed that SDS is financing his trip by taking up collections at all of his speeches.

b1 [REDACTED]

On March 8, 1969, WOLFF spoke at the Canterbury House at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. He spoke of the need to build an international revolutionary alliance and stated that a victory for the movement in one country was a victory in another.

b1 [REDACTED]

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On March 10, 1969, WOLFF was the featured speaker in the Mart Room, Mac Kenzie Hall, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan. WOLFF stated that the German SDS is now able to close any university at will. He also pointed out that a close alliance exists between the French and German SDS and the young workers.

bl [REDACTED]

"NLN" of February 12, 1969, page 9

"NIC Approves Militarization Program"

"SDS will sponsor a speaking trip by KARL DIETRICH WOLFF, head of the German SDS. Chapters should contact the NO. This will be late February and early March."

"NLN" of March 20, 1969, page 3

"German SDS leader attacks 'bandits'"

"Karl Dietrich Wolff, head of Germany SDS, last week walked out of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee meeting to which he was subpoenaed. 'I found the nature of the questions insulting, and I will not be constantly interrupted each time that I attempt to be responsive and attempt to answer fully,' he explained.

"Karl had originally been subpoenaed last Tuesday, after a speech at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. After a day's delay, the hearing finally took place Friday morning. Karl insisted on an open hearing; about 25 people came along and heard him denounce the committee as a 'dirty gang of bandits.'

"'By focusing on the myth of the outside agitator they attempt to obscure their own role in exploitation, oppression, and murder at home and abroad. I for one prefer the outside agitator to the outside murderer,' Karl said in a statement read to the press and again to the committee.

"'...But our movements do not give in to harassment. The necessity of stopping the Internal Security Subcommittee and their fellow bandits is not just a verbal commitment.... To have spoken to people in this country about the dangerous move to the right in "free world" countries, the emergence of a new institutional fascism which does not need the goosestep or the black uniform of the SS, to have talked about the necessity to break the international conspiracy of NATO, and to have been subpoenaed for all this proves

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that I have done the contrary of incriminating myself - I have spoken the truth, and it has offended.'

"Walked Out.

"Karl tested the microphone before the hearing began with the words 'Victory to the vanguard struggle of the Vietnamese people.' Sourwine referred back to that several times, asking if he was only referring to his own personal beliefs or if he was speaking for any other people. Karl replied that he was speaking for the vast majority of the peoples of the world, who were hoping and fighting for self-determination."



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E. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Middle East

"NLN" of February 12, 1969, page 9

"NIC Approves Militarization Program"

"The NIC asked NLN to solicit articles on the Middle East....."

"NLN" of February 28, 1969, page 6

"History of Middle East Liberation Struggle Part I" by SUSAN EANET

"(At the last NIC meeting, many persons felt that NLN should distribute information to educate the membership about the Middle East. In the next three issues of NLN we will try to provide some historical background, give some insight into the movement against imperialism in the Arab countries and discuss the Arab revolution. It is hoped that the next NC will draft a resolution stating the SDS position on the Middle East struggle, which outside of Vietnam may be the leading struggle against US imperialism in the world today.)

"Throughout the fifties, the U. S., Britain, and the U.S.S.R. continued to jockey for positions of economic dominance in the Middle East,

"On January 1, 1954, the organization Al-Fatah was secretly formed as the National Liberation Front of the Palestinian Arabs. In 1965 Al-Fatah became militarily organized into commandos, and began the actual military raids and reprisals against the Israelis. Al-Fatah has the recognition and support of the Arab masses, and especially of the Palestinian refugees. It has built up a powerful military and para-military apparatus to organize the people and resist the Israeli occupation.

"Zionism is an ever-expanding policy. It will not contain itself within any set borders. The

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metaphysical concepts of the 'homeland' and 'chosen people' grant the Zionists the right to expand and expand as long as they can win militarily. Therefore the position of the Al-Fatah is that the Zionists must be defeated militarily before the Arab people can have national liberation."

"NLN" of March 13, 1969, page 4

"History of Middle East Liberation"

by SUSAN EANET

"There are major splits in the Arab world over the Palestinian and other national struggles. For example, the commando activities are outlawed in Saudi Arabia, which is also trying to crush the struggle of the people of South Yemen (Aden). The rulers of those countries whose economies are most closely aligned with American interests are opposed to the development of anti-imperialist struggle. But the inspiration provided by the Al-Fatah and the Front of South Yemen are too great to be crushed.

"Support Al-Fatah

"OSPAAL (the Organization of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America) released a position on the Middle East in July 1967 in which it stated that 'Old alliances that are not really based on the interests of the Arab peoples have been exposed.....It is not possible, under the cloak of so-called brotherhood, to unite progressive and revolutionary governments with corrupt, feudal monarchies, completely sold out to imperialist policy.

"One year later in July, 1968 OSPAAL made an international call for material support for Al-Fatah, as the vanguard of the revolutionary struggle in the Middle East. In the opinion of the OSPAAL secretariat, Al-Fatah recognizes the necessity to wage internal struggle in the Arab countries as well as against Zionism, to combat the doctrine of religious war and replace it with hard political education, and has a



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strong sense of international responsibility. In the year since the June War, OSPAL arrived at this conclusion and called on the revolutionaries in the world to support Al-Fatah."

CG T- advised on April 4, 1969, that the NC meeting held in Austin, Texas in March 29-30, 1969, did not debate a resolution on the Middle East.

## 2. South Africa

At the NC meeting in Austin, Texas, held on March 29-30, 1969, a resolution in support of South African liberation was passed. In part it states:

"whereas,

"SDS correctly recognizes US imperialism as the most repressive, anti-democratic international force. Likewise, we recognize that our struggle in the mother country must move toward solidarity with revolutionary movements abroad. SDS has characteristically assumed a leading role in the denunciation of and resistance to fascism and racism both domestically and abroad. SDS participation in the anti-apartheid movement in this country is one such example. SDS participation in action directed against American supporters of apartheid has included educational programs, boycotts, confrontations, etc. (The March '69 conference on southern Africa held at Cornell University being the most recent SDS program). SDS must formulate a strategy which can meet the needs of that liberation struggle. This strategy must take into account:



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"1. That US corporate and governmental support rescued South Africa from near financial collapse following the March, 1960, Sharpeville massacre;

"2. That since 1960, total US investment in the Republic of South Africa has quadrupled, now totalling over \$1 billion;

"3. That US investment is now primarily in manufacturing (as opposed to mineral extraction, etc.) -----particularly manufacturing with export orientation. Continued profit exploitation is dependent upon the availability of continental wide markets for SA-US exports;

"4. That the United States is partner with the Republic of South Africa in a co-imperialism, designed to penetrate and make further subservient the economies north of the Zambezi;

"5. That the massive development of South Africa's production base has further entrenched the policies of apartheid....not the opposite, as depicted in the fulsome attempts of US apologists to justify American support to Pretoria;

"6. That, since August, 1967, the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC-SA) has, in military alliance with ZAPU, carried on an armed guerrilla struggle in Rhodesia, as well as the continued covert development of revolutionary cadres within the fascist state of South Africa itself;

"7. That the southward march of the ANC-ZAPU guerrillas presents the powers of western imperialism (esp. the United States expansionist policies) with the greatest contemporary threat to this (its) global hegemony. Much more than in Vietnam, revolutionary struggle in South and southern Africa assaults the economic, political and racial foundations of 'Western Civilization';

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"8. That the ANC-SA (the only South African revolutionary movement recognized and supported by the OAU), in order to intensify the guerrilla struggle, has made an appeal for financial support at this crucial stage of the armed struggle;

"9. That, finally, just as armed revolutionary struggle is demanded for the liberation of southern and South Africa, so our support is necessary for that liberation.

"Therefore be it Resolved,

"That the SDS-NC extend to the South African liberation struggle its full and active support. That this program include immediate and long-term projects. That:

"1. SDS immediately initiate programs to provide financial assistance to the ANC-SA, and to such groups actively engaged in armed struggle in southern Africa if and when they should similarly request our assistance in the future;

"2. SDS intensify its educational programs on American involvement (both present and potential) in South Africa. This long-term project should be initiated and/or intensified at the earliest possible date. The corporate-government elite must be made painfully aware that American support for a South African war will mean war at home;

"3. SDS continue to initiate direct pressure on corporate and governmental interests which directly support the Republic of South Africa;

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"4. Finally, these actions be undertaken in close cooperation with Third World movements (BSU, UMAS, Panthers, etc.) in the United States. Determined action in support of the armed struggle against fascism and racism in South Africa will provide a catalyst for greater revolutionary solidarity in the United States."

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VI. BACKGROUND DATA  
ON INDIVIDUALS

WILLIAM AYERS

AYERS is a SDS "regional traveler" from Detroit, Michigan.

b1 [REDACTED]

LEIBEL BERGMAN

b1 [REDACTED]

(c) [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]

LES COLEMAN

b1 [REDACTED]

(c) [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]

CARL DAVIDSON

DAVIDSON was the former SDS Inter-Organizational Secretary.

b1 [REDACTED]

DAVIDSON spoke at the assembly at the opening of the SDS national convention on the evening of June 9, 1968, at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. He spoke on the necessity of international cooperation and student revolutions and stated the main goal of SDS is the downfall of our present society.

b1 [REDACTED]

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JEFF GORDON

The October-November, 1966, issue of "Progressive Labor," self-described as a bi-monthly PLP magazine, identified JEFFREY GORDON as the National Student Organizer for PLP.

BARTEE HAILE

HAILE was a SDS leader at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, and was also the Southwest Regional Organizer for SDS during May, 1968.

b1 [REDACTED]

FRED HAMPTON

HAMPTON is Deputy Chairman of the Illinois BPP.

b1 [REDACTED]

DON HAMERQUIST

HAMERQUIST is presently a member of the CP, USA National Committee.

b1 [REDACTED]

At a CP convention held in Oregon, April 5-6, 1969, it was reported that DON HAMERQUIST had passed out a letter announcing his resignation from the CP at the SDS NC meeting held in Austin, Texas, in March, 1969.

b1 [REDACTED]

NOEL IGNATIN

b1 [REDACTED]

(c) [REDACTED]

b1 [REDACTED]

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MIKE JAMES

On March 25, 1967, a peace march and rally was held in Chicago sponsored by various peace and civil rights organizations. During the demonstrations, MIKE JAMES, who was introduced as a SDS leader, spoke and urged that draft eligible youths defy the draft and called for continued protests and sit-in demonstrations on every campus protesting the Vietnam war. JAMES added that the poor must be organized in opposition to the military-industrial complex.

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JAMES is presently a staff member of the Chicago SDS Region.

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CHA CHA JEMENEZ

JEMENEZ is the leader of the Young Lords, a Chicago Puerto Rican youth gang. (X)

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JEFF JONES

The "New York Post" dated November 17, 1967, contained an article which stated that JEFF JONES and three other members of SDS were photographed while boarding a jet plane on November 16, 1967, at Kennedy Airport for Paris, France. Their eventual destination was for North Vietnam by invitation.



As of January, 1968, JEFF JONES was the office manager of the New York Region SDS.

b1 [REDACTED]

CLARK KISSINGER

KISSINGER, National Secretary of SDS, in addressing the SDS National Conference on June 13, 1965, presented a program called "Kissinger's Project" or "Kissinger's Kamikaze."

In presenting this program, KISSINGER proposed SDS members deliberately violate the Espionage Act of 1917, certain provisions of the Smith Act of 1940, and specific sections of the Code of Military Justice, by entering United States military bases and passing out leaflets which would demoralize men in the Armed Forces and which would suggest that the members of the Armed Forces should desert and further adopt devious means of avoiding service and direct participation in the Vietnam war.

b1 [REDACTED]

HOWARD MACHTINGER

MACHTINGER was expelled by the University of Chicago in March, 1969, for involvement in a student takeover of the administration building. He works for the Chicago SDS Region Office and is well regarded as an intellectual among SDS leaders.

b1 [REDACTED]

ERIC MANN

MANN as of July, 1968, was the New England Regional SDS organizer and is anti-PLP.

b1 [REDACTED]

TIM MC CARTHY

MC CARTHY was the former Assistant National Secretary of SDS.

b1 [REDACTED]

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JIM MELLEN

MELLEN is the head of the Radical Education Project, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

GEORGE MASON MURRAY

"The Black Panther," official publication of the BPP, in its May 4, 1969, issue identifies MURRAY as the national BPP Minister of Education.

HUEY P. NEWTON

"The Black Panther," official publication of the BPP, in its May 4, 1969, issue identified NEWTON as the national BPP Minister of Defense.

CARL OGLESBY

Source described OGLESBY as a "modern day Saul," completely and personally committed to the SDS program, enthusiastic in his work and the promotion of same. OGLESBY acknowledges he was surprised at being elected president of SDS and realized he was, in part, president in name only. He said he would be going to personally visit Saigon, Vietnam, etc., in the near future. His purpose for such a visit was not explained to source. OGLESBY reported that in the fall of 1965 he would address the United States Congress. He explained that while Congress was in session SDS would enter and he would make himself heard. He said he knew he would be arrested but that he would be heard by Congress.

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BOBBY SEALE

The May 4, 1969, issue of "The Black Panther", official publication of the BPP, identifies BOBBY SEALE as the National Chairman of the BPP.

MORGAN SPECTOR

SPECTOR is the son of FRANK and ELIZABETH SPECTOR, who are members of the CP in Los Angeles, California.

b1 [REDACTED]  
MIKE SPIEGEL

Prior to the SDS National Convention held during June, 1968, SPIEGEL was the SDS National Secretary.



## APPENDIX

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

APPENDIX1

"GUARDIAN," Formerly known as "National Guardian"; WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INCORPORATED

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., contains the following concerning the "National Guardian":

"1. ... 'established by the American Labor Party in 1947 as a "progressive" weekly ... it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.'"

The February 3, 1968, issue of the "National Guardian" announced that as of the issue of February 10, 1968, the "National Guardian" would henceforth be known as the "Guardian."

The February 10, 1968, issue of the "Guardian" is self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly" and is published by Weekly Guardian Associates, Incorporated. The "Guardian" lists its address as 197 East 4th Street, New York, New York.

The February 12, 1968, issue of the "New York Times" carried an article entitled, "Radical Editors Say Their Job Is In 'Movement.'" This article stated that the first issue of the "Guardian" was dedicated by the paper's staff "To those heroic Liberation fighters who last week began a major offensive against American Imperialism in South Vietnam."

This article quoted one of the editors as saying that "Our job is to build a Radical movement. To quote the Cuban revolutionaries, we are not only to write about it, but also to move along with it--we are movement people acting as journalists."

"The 'Guardian' takes a strong left position, but it is not identified with any organized group because it believes that an American left ideology is still in the making. One of its purposes is to break away from the cliches of the left ideology of the past."

This article concluded by stating that the "Guardian" is considered the largest radical weekly in America.

APPENDIXPROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY

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A source advised on April 20, 1965, that the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), formerly known as the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), held its first national convention April 15-18, 1965, at New York, New York, to organize the PLM into a PLP. The PLP will have as its ultimate objective the establishment of a militant working class movement based on Marxism-Leninism.

The "New York Times" City Edition, Tuesday, April 20, 1965, page 27, reported that a new party of "revolutionary socialism" was formally founded on April 18, 1965, under the name of the PLP. The PLP was described as an outgrowth of the PLM. Its officers were identified as MILTON ROSEN, New York, President, and WILLIAM EPTON of New York and MORT SCHEER of San Francisco Vice Presidents. A 20-member National Committee was elected to direct the party until the next convention.

According to the article, "The Progressive Labor Movement was founded in 1962 by Mr. ROSEN and Mr. SCHEER after they were expelled from the Communist Party of the United States for assertedly following the Chinese Communist line."

The PLP publishes "Progressive Labor," a bi-monthly magazine, "Challenge" a monthly New York City newspaper, and "Spark," a West Coast newspaper.

The April, 1967, issue of "Challenge," page 14, states that, "This paper is dedicated to fight for a new way of life-where the working men and women own and control their homes, factories, the police, courts, and the entire government on every level."

A second source advised on September 26, 1966, that the PLP utilizes the address of General Post Office Box 808, Brooklyn 1, New York, but also utilizes an office in Room 617, 1 Union Square, West, New York City, where PLP publications are prepared.



APPENDIX

REVOLUTIONARY UNION, Also  
known as Red Union

A source advised in July, 1968, that the Revolutionary Union, commonly known to its membership as the Red Union (RU), is a covert, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist organization formed in early 1968 for the purpose of instilling the line of the Communist Party of China into the political situation in the United States. The membership of the RU espouse the militant communism of MAO Tse-tung and believe in the necessity of violent revolution and open guerrilla warfare to overthrow the present political system in the United States and effect radical changes in this nation.

In August, 1968, a second source advised that the RU in the San Francisco area consists of four locals, one in San Francisco, one in Palo Alto, and two in the East Bay area. The leadership of the RU consists of former long-time members of the CP, USA whose revolutionary activities date back into the 1930s and who broke with the CP in the late 1950s, accusing the CP of revisionism. The membership of the RU is made up of radical, left-wing, youths who have participated in student demonstrations and draft resistance movements. The RU looks to Communist China as the model of the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line and the works of MAO Tse-tung are read and discussed in the weekly education classes.

According to this source, the membership of the RU have studied and practiced guerrilla warfare techniques and some of the members have engaged in practice with firearms. The RU is against firearms control laws because such laws would make it more difficult for them to obtain weapons, and one of the leaders has stated that any traitor to the RU would be killed.

APPENDIXSOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of southern student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the SDS.

Beginning in the fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source two noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas N. Gardner in the summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members BRUCE SMITH and ALAN LEVIN traveled to Cuba in the summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of MIKE WELCH, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that as a step toward close relations with the SDS and better communications with the movement nationally, SSOC and SDS have worked out an exchange of the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes," and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

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The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P.O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, telephone number 615 291-3537, and the mast-head describes the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.



APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order, 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

APPENDIX

"YOUNG SOCIALIST"

The "Young Socialist" is a magazine published five times a year by the Young Socialist Alliance. The October, 1964, edition, the initial edition utilizing the magazine format, relates that this magazine succeeds the "Young Socialist" newspaper in an effort to provide "more facts on more general issues than a small newspaper can."

The "Young Socialist" newspaper was formerly described as the official organ of the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA).

The "Young Socialist" maintains office space at the headquarters of the YSA, Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square, West, New York City, and has a mailing address of Post Office Box 471, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A characterization of the YSA is set out separately.



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May 8, 1969In Reply, Please Refer to  
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SOCIETYCharacter INTERNAL SECURITY-SDS;  
SEDITION b7cReference Report of SA [REDACTED]  
dated and captioned as above  
at Chicago.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

b1 [REDACTED]



